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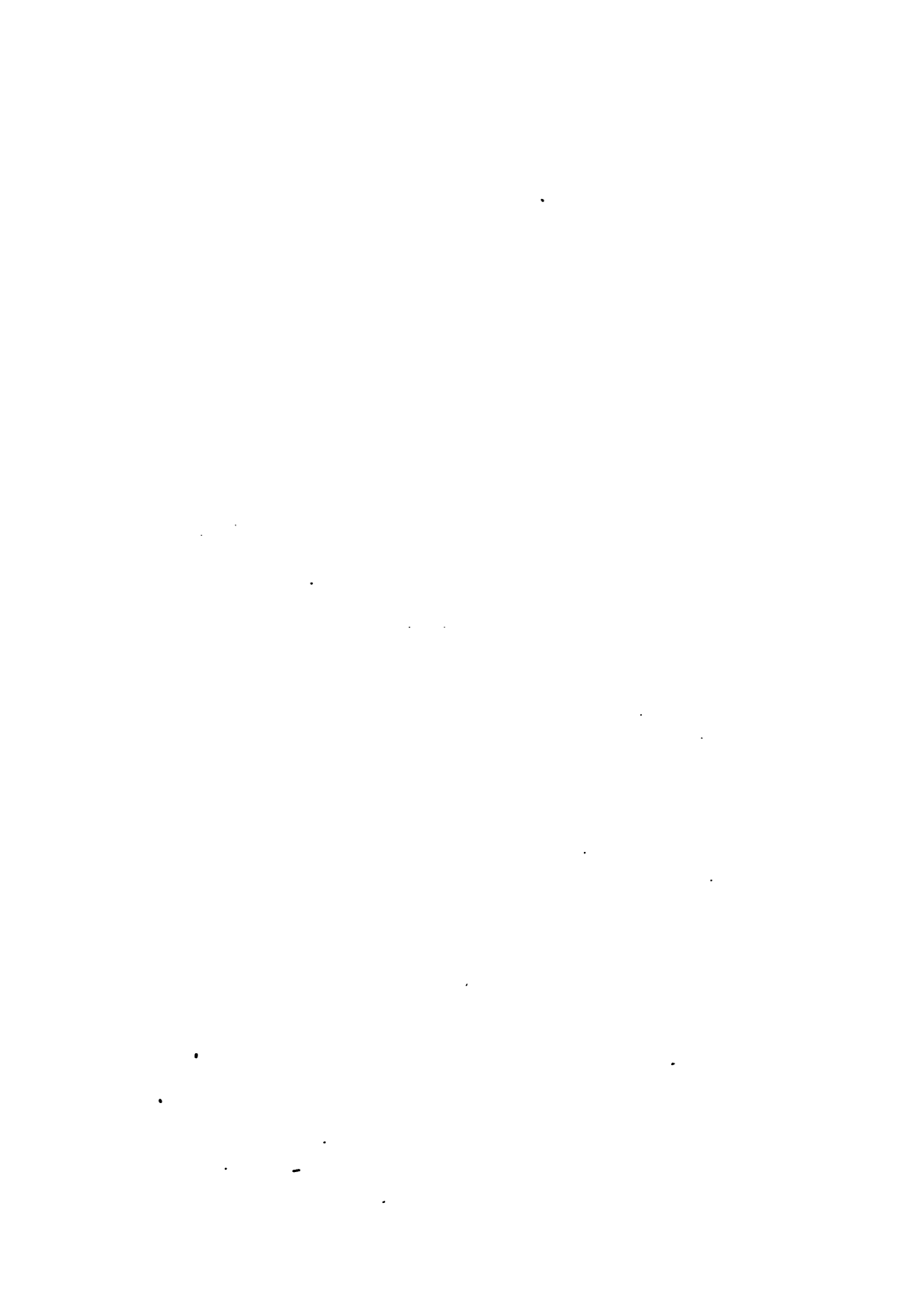
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ANTONIO PEREZ

AND

PHILIP II.

BY

M. MIGNET,



MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE ;
PERPETUAL SECRETARY OF THE ACADEMY OF MORAL AND
POLITICAL SCIENCES, ETC.

TRANSLATED,

WITH THE APPROBATION OF THE AUTHOR,

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TRANSLATOR OF MICHELET'S "PRIESTS, WOMEN, AND
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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN laying before the reader a faithful copy of this learned and interesting work, the translator avails himself of this opportunity to express his gratitude to M. Mignet, for his extreme kindness in honouring the present undertaking with his approbation.

PREFACE.

THIS volume is an extract from the *Journal des Savants*, and consists of the articles I have published, in that grave periodical, respecting Antonio Perez and Philip II. It contains, at once, the explanation and the account of their tragical contests. The adventurous career of Perez presents a picture of vicissitudes well calculated, in my opinion, to interest and instruct. His early youth witnessed the reign and court of Charles V., whom his father, Gonzalo Perez, served as Secretary of State. He himself, though still very young, became minister to Philip II., who at one moment showered on him his entire favour, and whose policy he subserved even so far as to rid him, by murder, of the secretary and confidant of his brother, Don Juan * of Austria. He afterwards incurred the fatal displeasure of his formidable master by having dared to become the rival of his amours. Cast into a fortress, brought before the

* Juan, Jehan, Giovanni, or John. To be consistent with present usage, I have preserved his Spanish name, though he is called *Don John* in English history.—C. C.

secret justice of Castile, put to the torture after a long captivity marked with every variety of incident; saved, by a lucky escape, from impending death; sheltered in Aragon, where the celebrated tribunal of *Justicia Mayor* took him under its protection, and where the tribunal of the Inquisition seized upon his person; delivered by the revolt of the people of Saragossa, who saved him from the tortures inflicted upon heretics, though with the loss of their own liberties; received with welcome in France and England, where he became the pensioner of Henry IV. and the friend of the Earl of Essex, and took a part in all the negotiations against Philip II., till the peace of Vervins and the death of that prince, Perez ended his days at Paris, in exile and solitude, after the great personages, at whose side he had, for more than forty years, played such widely different parts, had disappeared from the stage.

To fill up gaps, and dispel the obscurity which still shrouds this history, I have had at my disposal materials not less valuable for their novelty than their abundance. I will first mention a manuscript, belonging to the ministry of foreign affairs, which contains the copy of all the matter relating to the trial of Perez in Castile, from his first imprisonment down to the time of his torture and escape. In this manuscript, numerous and positive testimonies leave not a shadow of doubt as to the amours of Perez with the Princess of Eboli, and the real causes of the

murder of Escovedo. Its perusal suggested to me the first idea of this work. We find in it, moreover, the principal counts of the trial that was devised against Perez in Aragon. But, in order to relate the purely historical events, which, after his flight, took place in that country and brought about a real revolution, I have had recourse to a manuscript collection of the greatest importance: that of seventeen volumes upon the "Acts of the Inquisition in Spain," bequeathed by Llorente to the Royal Library. Five of these volumes, of a considerable dimension, contain, in twelve parts, all the original pieces, the interrogatories, depositions, mandates, pamphlets, letters, accounts, and sentences, which, with the most minute exactness and extreme interest, make us acquainted with the conflict of jurisdiction, in the trial of Perez, between the tribunal of the Holy Office and the supreme court of *Justicia Mayor*, the two insurrections of the people of Saragossa, on the 24th May and the 24th September, 1591, the deliverance of Perez, the defeat of the Aragonese by the Castilians, and the overthrow of their national privileges. It is especially by means of these documents that I have been able to set forth, in their striking reality, the last acts of independence of this noble kingdom of Aragon, which, ever since the insurrection of Saragossa, has undergone a state of slavery analogous to that which the kingdom of Castile had suffered after the insurrection of the *Comuneros*.

But these manuscripts are not the only documents of which I have availed myself. The correspondence of the Spanish, English, and French Ambassadors, which is to be found among the papers of Simancas*, in the State Paper Office, and in the Royal Library, and the unpublished letters and manuscripts of Perez, preserved in the latter depository, have enabled me to expatiate upon his residence in England and in France. This was a void in his history which required filling up. This I have done, and we shall there see his vindictive plottings, his suppliant ardour, and his melancholy end.

I ought, likewise, to mention here the work of Don Salvador Bermudez de Castro, lately published at Madrid, with the title of *Antonio Perez, secretario de estado del rey Felipe II.*, from which I have quoted some hitherto unpublished matter. It is to be regretted that the author has not indicated, in his narrative, the historical sources from which he has drawn his materials, and that his work, attractive in its form, elegantly written, and composed often from unquestionable documents, contains also details of pure invention, which impair its merit and authority. As for myself, I have quoted much; first, in order to give texts not yet known, and, secondly, to support, by their testimony, facts which, from their very romantic appearance, might otherwise be thought to

* A small town, with a fortress, on the Douro, two leagues west of Valladolid.— C. C.

be the work either of imagination or of artificial arrangement. My hope is that this volume will appear neither devoid of interest nor useless for history.

Paris, July, 1845.

Letter from M. Mignet to the Translator.

“ Monsieur,

“ J'étais en voyage lorsque vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire pour me proposer de traduire en Anglais le volume que j'ai publié sur *Antonio Perez* et *Philippe II*. J'allais, à mon retour, vous remercier de cette proposition et vous dire que je l'acceptais bien volontiers, lorsqu'on m'a remis votre seconde lettre. Je ne puis, Monsieur, qu' être flatté et heureux de voir ce petit livre, qui a été déjà traduit en Espagnol et en Allemand, l'être en Anglais par les soins d'une personne aussi exercée et aussi habile que vous.

Agréez, Monsieur, les assurances de ma considération très distinguée.

MIGNET.

Paris, 6th Nov., 1845.

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ANTONIO PEREZ

AND

PHILIP II.

CHAPTER I.

COURT OF PHILIP II. — CHARACTER OF THAT PRINCE AND HIS MINISTER ANTONIO PEREZ. — TRUE CAUSES OF THE DEATH OF THE SECRETARY ESCOVEDO.

THE trial of Antonio Perez was one of the most singular occurrences of the sixteenth century, rich as it was in extraordinary events. It belongs to history by the importance of the personages who figure in it, by the causes that produced it, and which cast a strong light upon the character and policy of Philip II., by its consequences in provoking the revolt, invasion, and subjection of Aragon, whose ancient constitution was thereby destroyed, and lastly, by the mysteries which it leaves us even now to unravel.

If I had only the Memoirs of Perez to assist me in making a new examination of this important and obscure occurrence, I would not undertake it; not that Perez does not furnish valuable documents respecting it, in his *Relaciones*, addressed to the opinion of Europe, and in his *Memorial*, presented to the supreme tribunal of the kingdom of Aragon; but Perez does not tell every thing, and we understand why—because he is a party in the process, and not the historian. He relates then only what serves for his justification, and leaves the rest in the dark. By the aid of new and authentic documents, I hope to elucidate what still appears mysterious in this long and lugubrious drama, and explain the slow and terrible disgrace of Perez, whom Philip II., his accomplice in the murder of Escovedo, secretary to Don Juan of Austria, detained eleven years in prison, put to the torture, punished even in the person of his wife and children, and pursued with his vengeance even on a foreign shore, where he had managed to take refuge after having vainly sheltered himself under the, till then, sovereign rights of Aragon.

How was Philip induced to order the murder of Escovedo, the first, if not the sole cause of all these events? What part did Perez take in the execution of that murder? Was he the mere instrument of the suspicious policy of Philip, or did he advise him to rid himself of this secretary, the confident and agent

of his brother? If he urged him by his counsels to this extremity, was he guided by reasons of state or by private interest? Did he persuade him to get rid of Escovedo, because the latter exalted the ambitious imagination of Don Juan and entertained him with dangerous projects, or did he make use of this pretext, by deceiving Philip, to rid himself of a man who constrained and blamed his amours with the princess of Eboli, the widow of Ruy Gomez de Sylva, whose creatures they both were? Have these amours, called into question by M. Ranke, an ingenious historian, full of knowledge and authority, any real foundation? and did they, as it has always been believed, cause a rivalry between the king and the minister, Philip II. and Perez? Ought the disgrace of Perez, managed with skilful dissimulation, and pursued with implacable rigour, to be attributed to the policy of Philip, who sacrificed Perez, leaving the whole responsibility of the murder of Escovedo to fall upon himself, or ought we also to seek its cause in the vindictive jealousy of this prince, who showed himself inexorable as soon as he knew that Perez had deceived him? Such are the questions that I shall have to examine and solve.

Philip II. was severe and suspicious. He never gave his confidence entirely, and people were not sure of possessing it even when he showed the most apparent proofs of it. They did not perceive the loss of his favour till the moment he struck them.

No sign, neither impatience nor coolness, betrayed beforehand any change either in his wishes or affections.* He protracted his disgraces like all other things. This is what several of his ministers experienced; among others, Cardinal Spinosa, in 1571, and Antonio Perez, in 1579. In spite of his suspicion, he followed the counsels of those whom he had invested with his authority. As early as 1561, Michele Suriano remarked, comparing him to his father, that Charles V. acted in everything according to his own opinion; whereas Philip II. was guided by that of others.† His mind, indeed, was slow, uninventive, and rather irresolute. Though very imperious, he was fluctuating; and his will was far more exacting than determined.

His finical manner of governing, as much as his suspicious temper, led him to make use of men of different minds and views, whom their ambition kept

* “Dissimula li pensieri che nutrice nel cuore, ne mai si conosce che sia alterato ò irato verso alcuna persona se non quando si vede il premio ò il castigo.”—*Relazione del clarissimo Signore Tomaso Contarini, ritornato ambasciatore di Spagna*, MSS. des Affaires Etrangères. — “E stimato che sappia dissimulare ottimamente ingiurie per vindicarsene à tempo . . . non hebbe alcuno aviso o buono o reo che fosse da alterar la faccia o le parole di lui . . .” — ANTONIO TIEPOLO, *Relazione delle Cose di Spagna*, anno 1568, MSS. de la Biblioth. Roy., Fonds Saint-Germain 191, ancien No. 1203, fol. 219 ro.

† “Quello (Charles V.) si governava in tutte le cose per opinion sua, questo (Philip II.) per quella d'altri.” MSS. de la Biblioth. Roy., No. 1203, fol. 198.

asunder. He directed, by writing, the vast states of the Spanish monarchy; all things, both small and great, were submitted to his inspection. He consulted much, hesitated long, and decided late, in consequence of his irresolution and the inevitable slowness which his habit of reading, noting, and ordering everything himself, impressed upon his affairs. Though a man of intense application and exceedingly industrious, he could not get through so much business. Accordingly, there was always some delay in his intentions and measures. The numerous councils instituted by his father and himself prepared, for his inspection, the different affairs which were in their several departments, and gave him their opinions in their *Consultas*. Independently of these he used to require his ministers to state their opinions to him in writing. For more than twenty years, from 1558 to 1579, he maintained two rival parties about him, between whom he divided his confidence and his power. In so doing, his aim was to derive information from their contradictory opinions; to recur, according to occasion, to the different qualities of their chiefs, and to be served with greater zeal.

At the head of these two parties were, for a long time, the Duke of Alva and Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli; of whom, one was as lofty and resolute as the other was clever and prudent.* In

* "E gentil huomo Ruy Gomez affabile, di buono ingegno,

the council of state, where they exercised the chief influence, they never either saw or concluded things in the same manner.* Whoever succeeded with one party failed with the other.† Philip was not displeased with their rivalry, which extended even to enmity; it reassured his suspicious character, although it often added to the fluctuation of his mind, by the divergency of the sentiments which these, the chief counsellors of his policy, manifested upon the different matters submitted to their deliberations. At bottom, he preferred Ruy Gomez, who was his private steward, had accompanied him to England at the time of his marriage, had never left him since, and who served him as he liked to be served — with an absolute and discreet devotion, advising without appearing to direct him.

The Duke of Alva, however, seemed to have

accorto e discreto in ogni cosa.”—ANTONIO TIEPOLO, *Relazione delle Cose di Spagna*, anno 1568, MSS. de la Biblioth. Roy., 1203, fol. 217 ro. — “Ruy Gomez principe de Eboli d’anni 50 è, molti anni sono, in gran considerazione e tiene il maneggio supremo.” Ibid., anno 1571., fol. 293 ro.

* “Vero è che tutto che siano sette che consigliano, se può dir non dimeno doi solamente, perciò che tutti dependono ò dal duca d’Alva, ò da Ruy Gomez, li quali son fra loro diparer quasi sempre diversi.” Ibid. fol. 217 ro.

† “S’accesce infinita difficoltà nel negoziare: chi volè il favor del duca d’Alva perde quello di Ruy Gomez, e quello che cerca quello di Ruy Gomez non ha quello del duca, e può bene ringratiar Iddio chi si governa in modo con l’uno e con l’altro, che non s’acquista contrario ò l’uno ò l’altro.”—MICHELE SUBIANO, MSS. 1203. fol. 199.

gained a momentary advantage over Ruy Gomez, when the insurrection broke out in the Netherlands. After much hesitation, and lost time, Philip decided on adopting the plan proposed by the Duke of Alva, in preference to that recommended by Ruy Gomez; and he sent that skilful warrior, that hard-hearted terrible politician, into the revolted provinces, with an army to conquer, and an unlimited authority to chastise and govern, them. But, force and violence not succeeding, Ruy Gomez, left all alone with Philip, had caused the Duke of Alva to be superseded by the Grand Commander of Castile, Don Louis de Requesens de Çuniga, endued with a spirit of gentleness and moderation, and commissioned to reduce the Low Countries to obedience by conciliatory measures.

The Duke of Alva had seen his credit decline from his failure in the enterprise entrusted to him, and the fortunate Ruy Gomez had died in 1573, leaving his party more powerful than ever. This party, to which were equally attached Antonio Perez and Juan Escovedo, both creatures of Ruy Gomez, and which Don Juan of Austria exalted abroad by the splendour of his victories and his fame, held its sway till 1579, in the councils of the King of Spain, from which though it did not exclude, it almost completely annihilated, the opposite party.

Here are the terms in which both parties are

spoken of in an Italian MS. narrative, composed in 1577 *, one year before the murder of Escovedo; a murder which ultimately occasioned the dissolution of the predominant faction, shortly after caused its ruin, and effected an entire change of persons and of direction in the councils and affairs of Spain.

“The court is now reduced to very few persons; for we see there only those who are of the king’s chamber, or of his council, because many *cavalieri privati*, who were there either to serve the king or solicit favours, finding his majesty always living retired or in the country, showing himself but little, seldom granting audiences, and giving little and late, were unable to remain there under a load of expenses, without either pleasure or profit. It is openly divided into two factions. The first is that of the Archbishop of Toledo, the Marquis de Los Velez, Antonio Perez, Matteo Vasquez, and Sontoyo. It appears to be the most in favour and the most powerful in what concerns the administration of the affairs which it has in its hands, though it does not seem, for all that, to possess an extraordinary power and authority. † The other is that of the Duke of

* Relazione delle Cose di Spagna, MSS. No. 1203. fol. 269 ro.

† “E divisa in due fattioni assai scopertamente: la prima è l’arcivescovo di Toletto, il marchese de Los Veles, Antonio Perez, Matteo Vasques et Santoio, et questa apparisce per favorita et più potente, respitto all’ amministrazione de negotii che a in mano, non gia che se veda potenza ò autorità extraordinaria.” Ibid., fol. 278 ro.

Alva, the prior Don Antonio (of Toledo), the prince of Melito, the Marquis of Aguilar and Çayas. Each faction seeks to combat its adversary as well as it can."*

The author of the Italian narrative adds, in speaking of the principal personages of these two factions, —

"The Duke of Alva is accounted a dissembler, artful and very experienced, but jealous and spiteful. The king shows him much good will; but employs him little. He has no authority, — no standing. Accordingly, there are few people who take any notice of him. In order to conceal his small share of favour and his ill luck, he never leaves the king. †

"The Marquis de Los Velez, Don Pedro Fajardo, the queen's *mayordomo-mayor*, is a reserved, silent man, who professes to behave prudently, and to be sufficiently well acquainted with state affairs; he is of solitary habits, and conforms to the king's humour, who employs him very much." ‡

"The Archbishop of Toledo (Don Gaspard de

* Relazione delle Cose di Spagna, MSS. No. 1203. fol. 278 ro.

† "Il duca d' Alva è tenuto per persona cupa, arteficioſa et di molto ſapere, ma invidioſa et maligna. Il rè gli moſtra buona volontà, ma non l' adopera molto. Non hà autorità alcuna, e è per terra; e ſon pochi che tenghino conto di lui. Ma per ricoprire la ſua poca gratia e mala fortuna, non ſi parte mai del rè e à capo della fattione contraria all' arciveſcovo di Toſeto." Ibid., fol. 277 ro.

‡ Relazione delle Cose di Spagna, fol. 277 ro.

Quiroga) is the chief of the predominant faction. He is of a joyous humour and a gentle character; prompt in speech but of excellent intentions; and every body considers him an upright man. One sees that the king likes him and makes use of him; he has a vast share of power." *

"Antonio Perez, secretary of state, is a pupil of Ruy Gomez. He is very discreet and amiable, and possesses much authority and learning. By his agreeable manners, he goes on tempering and disguising much of the disgust which people would feel at the king's slowness and sordid parsimony. Through his hands have passed all the affairs of Italy, and also those of Flanders, ever since this country has been governed by Don Juan, who promotes his interests greatly, as do, still more, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis de Los Velez. He is so clever and capable that he must become the king's principal minister. He is thin, of delicate health, rather extravagant, and fond of his advantages and pleasures. He is tenacious of being thought much of, and of people offering him presents." †

* Relazione delle Cose di Spagna, fol. 279 ro.

† "Antonio Perez, secretario e allievo da Ruy Gomez, è persona discretissima, gentile, di molta creanza e sapere, il quale con la sua dolce maniera v'è temperando e coprendo molti disgusti, che dariano alle persone la lunghezza e scarsità del rè; e per mano di questo passano tutti i negotii di stato d' Italia, e hà anco in mano quelli di Fiandra dopoi che governa don Giovanni, che l' porta molto avanti, ma più di tutti l' arcives-

Lastly, he says of Don Juan: "He follows the party of the Archbishop of Toledo and of Antonio Perez."*

Perez was then thirty-six years old — the natural son of Gonzalo Perez, who was, for a long time, secretary of state to Charles V. and Philip II. He had been legitimated by a diploma of the emperor †, and called to the administration at an early age. The theories of Italian policy, which were, by the by, but too conformable to the practice usually followed, had given him a perversity of mind which his own disposition had not too well withstood. Being of a quick understanding, an insinuating character, and a devotedness which knew neither bounds nor scruples, full of expedients, a nervous and elegant writer, and expeditious in business, he had gained the favour of Philip II., who had gradually given him almost his entire confidence. He was, with Çayas, one of the two secretaries of the council of state, and was charged principally with the *de-*

covo di Toledo e il marchese di Los Veles, e è tanto accorto e sufficiente ch' è per venire il principal ministro che habbia il rè. E persona macilente, di non molta sanità, assai disordinato e amicissimo de suoi commodi e piaceri, et hà caro d' essere stimato e presentato." Ibid., fol. 378 ro.

* "Seguita la parte dell' arcivescovo di Toledo e di Don Antonio Perez." Ibid., fol. 277 ro.

† This diploma is dated from Valladolid, 14 April, 1542. *Llorente, Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, Paris, 1817, t. iii. p. 368.

spacho universal; that is, with the counter-sign and the conduct of the diplomatic correspondence and the royal commands. Philip imparted to him his most secret designs, initiated him into his private thoughts; and it was Perez who, in deciphering the despatches, separated the points to be communicated to the council of state for their opinion from those which the king reserved for his exclusive deliberation. Such high favour had intoxicated him. He affected even towards the Duke of Alva, when they met in the king's apartments at dinner, a silence and a haughtiness which revealed at once the arrogance of enmity and the infatuation of fortune.* So little moderation in prosperity, coupled with the most luxurious habits, a passion for gaming, a craving appetite for pleasures, and excessive expenses, which reduced him to receive from every hand, excited against him both envy and animosity in the austere and factious court of Philip II.; and, on the first opportunity, inevitably prepared his downfall. This event, too, he himself hastened by serving too well

* "Y entre otras cosas que tenia de vanidad y locura fue que siempre que comia en el Estado, se levantaba el primero y casi sin hablar al duque de Alva, o quitandolo un poco la gorra, y muy torcido el rostro, y tras el sus amigos dexando solo al duque."—*Proceso que se fulminò contra Antonio Perez, secretario de Estado del rey don Phelipe segundo y del despacho universal, y por su mandado sobre la muerte de Juan Escobedo*, MSS. in the archives of foreign affairs,—the deposition of Count De Fuensalida.

the distrustful passions of Philip, and, perhaps, even by exciting them beyond measure against two men of his own party, Don Juan of Austria and his secretary Escovedo.

The Grand Commander Requesens having died in 1576, without having pacified the Netherlands, whose grievances had accumulated from all the excesses of the Spanish soldiers, who had pillaged towns and mutinied against their chiefs, Philip had sent thither Don Juan. The position of affairs was very difficult; but the choice of him who was to effect the remedy was excellent. Being a son of Charles V., whose memory was so dearly cherished in the Low Countries, full of nobleness and loyalty, heralded by the splendour of his victories, for he had been completely successful in several great enterprises, he appeared more proper than any other to reduce to obedience the seventeen provinces, which had just united by the pacification of Ghent. But he had great designs of his own. Those designs were of old date; he had conceived them, according to Perez, after the battle of Lepanto and the taking of Tunis. He aspired either to conquer or obtain a sovereignty. Hence, instead of dismantling Tunis in 1573, according to the order received from Madrid, he had fortified it, with the hope that it might become the capital of the kingdom the acquisition of which he meditated. Pope Pius V. had interested himself in his project, which he had recommended to Philip. But this

prince, who had no notion of allowing the valour of Don Juan to contribute to anything but the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy, admitted no such pretension, though he replied to the pope in a gracious manner, and thanked him for the interest he took in his brother.

He supposed, at the same time, that these ambitious thoughts were suggested to Don Juan by the secretary Juan de Soto, whom Ruy Gomez had placed near him, during the war against the Moors of Grenada, who had accompanied him in his maritime expeditions in the Mediterranean, and whose counsels were then reputed dangerous. Philip, thinking it necessary to withdraw Don Juan from this pernicious influence, replaced Soto by Escovedo, whose fidelity he believed to be more sure, and who received, before leaving for Italy, the recommendation to direct Don Juan into other pursuits. In order not to displease his brother by withdrawing Soto entirely from him, Philip left him there, giving him the commission of paymaster of the army.*

Escovedo did not answer the confidence that had been placed in him. He soon forgot the recommendations of Philip to enter into the views of Don Juan.

* *Retrato al vivo del natural de la fortuna de Antonio Perez. En Rhodanusia a costa de Ambrosio Traversario. Containing: Relacion Sumaria de las prisiones y persecuciones de Antonio Perez, et el Memorial que Antonio Perez presentò del hecho de su causa en el juyzio de Aragon. — Memorial, segunda parte, pp. 307—312.*

The court of Madrid was informed that he made frequent and clandestine journeys to Rome. They were uneasy at not receiving any account of them from him when they unexpectedly learned the cause, which proved that the ambition of Don Juan had changed, not its nature, but its object. This young prince, unable any longer to aspire to the kingdom of Tunis, which the Turks had retaken, aimed at making himself master of that of England, governed as it was by a princess whom her creed put under the ban of Catholic Europe. This project was to the fancy of the court of Rome. The Holy See, after having found in Don Juan a defender of Catholic Christendom against the Turks, thought it might make an advantageous use of his courage and ambition against the Protestants. One day, then, the Pope's Nuncio in Spain, after having deciphered the despatches he had received from his court, repaired to Antonio Perez, and said to him: — "Who is the man called *Escoda*?" Perez replied, "It must be the secretary, Juan de Escovedo." "That is it!" answered the Nuncio; "I have received a despatch from his Holiness with a cipher, the substance of which is, that I am to transact business with the king for the Señor Don Juan, in such form and manner as Juan Escovedo shall require me, in order that his majesty may know for certain that the invasion of England has begun, and that the Señor

Don Juan may be accommodated with that kingdom."*

Perez immediately informed Philip of what was going on. The surprise of that prince was extreme, and his displeasure not less so. He, however, thought proper to dissemble them; for, at that moment, he was calling Don Juan of Austria to the government of the Low Countries, and he would not have liked to prevent him from well fulfilling the difficult mission confided to him, by discouraging him with the exhibition of his suspicion or with a refusal. He seemed therefore to comply with his wishes, and to permit Don Juan, when he had terminated the affair of the Netherlands, to attempt the invasion of England, by making use of Spanish troops, if the States General of Flanders consented to their embarkation.†

At the same time, to become acquainted with all his brother's designs, and watch the intrigues of Escovedo, he authorised Perez, who was the confident of the one and the friend of the other, to correspond with them, to enter into their views, to appear to gain his favour for them, to speak even very freely of him, in order to throw them the more off their guard, and afterwards to betray their secrets to him. Perez sought, or at the very least, accepted this odious part. He acted it, as he himself relates, with a shameless devotion to the king, and a studied

* Memorial de Antonio Perez, p. 313.

† Ibid., pp. 314, 315.

perfidy towards Don Juan and Escovedo. He wrote letters to them, which were even submitted to the inspection of Philip, and in which he did not always speak respectfully of that prince; he afterwards communicated to Philip the bold despatches of Escovedo, and the effusions of Don Juan's restless and desponding ambition.* In forwarding to the king a letter from Escovedo, he at once boasts, and clears himself of this disloyal artifice. "Sire," says he, "it is thus one must listen and answer for the good of your service; people are held much better thus at sword's length; and one can better do with them whatever is conducive to the interest of your affairs. But let your majesty use good precaution in reading these papers; for, if my artifice is discovered, I shall no longer be good for anything, and shall have to discontinue the game. Moreover, I know very well that, for my duty and conscience, I am doing, in all this, nothing but what I ought; and I need no other theology than my own to comprehend it."† The king answers: "Trust, in every thing, to my circum-

* Memorial de Antonio Perez, p. 315.

† "Señor, es menester escribir y oyr de aquella manera, para su servicio, porque assy se meten por la espada, y el hombre encamina mejor lo que conviene para el negocio de V. Magestad principalmente. . . . Pero V. Md. mire cómo lee estos papeles, que si se me descubre el artificio, no le podré servir, y yo auré menester alçar del juego. Que por lo demas bien sé, que para my dever y consciencia hago lo que devo en esto, y no he menester mas theologia que la mia para alcançar lo."—*Memorial de Antonio Perez*, p. 323—324.

spection. My theology understands the thing just as yours does, and considers not only that you are doing your duty, but that you would have been remiss towards God and man, had you not done so, in order to enlighten my understanding, as completely as is necessary, against human deceits and upon the things of this world at which I am truly alarmed." *

What frightful doings then had happened since the arrival of Don Juan in the Low Countries? This young and glorious captain found, in the provinces confederated at Ghent, an incurable distrust both of the Spaniards and himself. The profound and skilful policy of the Prince of Orange raised obstacles against him which he could not surmount. In spite of the moderate conditions which he offered to the assembled States General, he was received by them much less as a pacificator than as an enemy. They refused to authorise the departure of the Spanish troops by sea, fearing they might be employed against the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and they required that they should repair to Italy by land. Don Juan saw his designs upon England, on this side, vanishing. Without authority,

* " . . . Y creed que traygo en todo buen recato, y segun mi theologia yo entiendo lo mismo que vos, que no solamente hazeys lo que deveys, mas que no lo hariades para con Dios ni para con el mundo, si no lo hiziesedes ansy, y para que yo este bien alumbrado de todo que es bien menester segun los enredamientos del mundo y de sus cosas, que ciertò me tienen espantado."—*Memorial de Antonio Perez*, pp. 323, 324.

money, or any means of establishing the domination of the king, his brother, and of supporting his own renown, he took a disgust to a position which offered him no issue. Accustomed, hitherto, to rapid and brilliant enterprises, he desponded at his impotency; and already a prey to gnawing cares, which were leading him slowly to the tomb, he demanded his recall. In the ardour of his desire he wrote to Perez, as the latter pretends, "that his life, his honour, and his soul depended on his quitting that command; that he should certainly lose the two former if he delayed in his resolution, and, with them, all the fruit of his past and future services; and that the third, even through despair, ran also great risks."* He says, in another letter, "that he should return at the moment they expected him the least; even though he thought he should receive a deadly punishment; . . . for they would certainly find it reasonable that he should risk a case of disobedience, in order not to undergo a case of infamy."† Perez charges Escovedo with having written, about the same period, at one time, that Don Juan would think it more honourable to pass as an adventurer into France, with six thousand foot and one thousand horse, than to be the governor of Flanders, or to return to Spain and become a courtier in order to govern every thing with his friends ‡; then, again, that the object of his am-

* Memorial de Antonio Perez, p. 320.

† Ibid., pp. 320, 321.

‡ Ibid., p. 321.

bition was to have a canopied seat (*siège à dais*) or the honours of an Infant *; and to have added: "Let us aid Señor Don Juan in whatever he may wish; when it becomes necessary, he himself will come to assist our projects." †

Nevertheless, Don Juan did not leave Flanders, but sent Escovedo to Spain to convey his bitter complaints, his pressing demands, and his vague projects. It was during this journey that Escovedo was murdered. To explain how Philip decided upon ordering his death, I will let Perez speak. After having said that new negotiations had been begun at Rome for the invasion of England; after having stated the plans of confederation plotted between Don Juan and the Guise family, plans of which we shall speak presently; after having quoted an extraordinarily audacious saying which he attributes to Escovedo, who, before going to France, had pretended that, "when once they were masters of England, they might aspire to become even masters of Spain, by opening for themselves the entrance of Santander and the citadel of that town, and constructing a fort upon the rock of Mogro ‡," Perez adds: "The king

* Memorial de Antonio Perez, p. 322. † Ibid., p. 321.

‡ "*Lenguage que traya Escovedo antes de yr à Flandes: que siendo dueños de Ingalatierra, se podrian alçar con España, con tener la entrada de la villa de Santander, y el castillo de la dicha villa, y con un fuerte en la petra de Mogro, alegando aqui que quando se perdiò España, desde las montanas se recobrò.*" Ibid., p. 326.

having well weighed all these circumstances, as well as the impatience shown by Prince Don Juan for them to send him back his secretary Escovedo, writing, for instance: '*Money, more money, and Escovedo!*' his majesty thought proper to inquire the opinion of the Marquis de Los Velez, Don Pedro Fajardo, counsellor of state and *Majordomo-major* of Queen Anne, acquainted with all these affairs, and to consult him as to what would be proper to be done, and the resolution that must be taken in so serious a conjuncture. Perez did so by the aid of the original papers themselves, and by conversations and conferences upon the whole of what has just been related.

“They took a review of the various schemes that had been planned in favour of Prince Don Juan, ever since his residence in Italy, without the king having any communication or perfect knowledge of them: they called to mind the grievous disappointment experienced by the authors of these projects at the expedition to England not taking place according to their first idea; the attempt they made a second time, for the same object, with his Holiness, when they were in Flanders, and always without giving the king any account; the design of deserting the government of Flanders, when once the expedition to England was abandoned; the secret understandings formed in France without the king's knowledge; the resolution they had formed, to prefer going as ad-

venturers into France with six thousand foot and one thousand horse, to filling the highest offices; lastly, the very strong language with which the prince, in his letters, expressed his grief and despair. The result of all this seemed, that there was reason to fear some great resolution and the execution of some great blow or other which might trouble the public peace and the tranquillity of his majesty's states, and, moreover, that Prince Don Juan might himself be ruined, if they let the secretary Escovedo remain any longer with him." *

The death of Escovedo was, in consequence, resolved upon. The Marquis de Los Velez was of this opinion. "He opined so well," adds Perez, "for the suitability of the resolution that was taken, that he said, if they asked him, with the consecrated bread in his mouth, whose life was the most important to sacrifice, Juan Escovedo's or that of any of those who were the most dangerous, he would affirm, it was Escovedo's." †

There is, doubtless, some truth in the narrative of Perez; but I cannot verify it all. I ought even to say that I have much difficulty in believing that Escovedo ever entertained the extravagant idea of making the prince, his master, undertake the conquest of Spain against Philip, after having effected that of England against Elizabeth. On the part of

* Memorial de Antonio Perez, pp. 327, 328.

† Ibid., p. 330.

Don Juan, this idea is impossible: it was contrary to his fidelity and good sense. He was always loyal towards his brother, and, if he had some rather chimerical designs, he had none that were culpable and senseless. What would incline me to doubt that either of them had this design is, that there is an important point upon which I find myself enabled to state both a want of exactness and some exaggeration in the facts advanced by Perez. This point concerns the relations of Don Juan with the Guise family and their factious but concealed concert, which added to the alarms of Philip. Perez pretends that Vargas Mexia, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, denounced this concert to the king. He seems to fix this denunciation in the spring of 1577, in mixing it up with an account of the projects attributed to Don Juan during the months of March, April, and May, in that year, and saying: "It happened that they received notice by letters from Vargas Mexia, who *then* occupied the post of ambassador in France, that there were persons sent by Don Juan, ever coming and going, at that court*," &c. Now Vargas Mexia was named ambassador to the court of France, to succeed Don Diego de Çuniga, only in October 1577, and arrived in Paris only on the 10th of December. So much for the date; now for the facts. Perez adds: "Though the persons, sent by Don Juan, appeared during a certain time in public, it

* Memorial de Antonio Perez, p. 318.

happened that, after having transacted the business for which they had been commissioned, one of them returned to introduce himself and remain concealed in the closet of M. de Guise. This is what Juan de Vargas imparted several times to Perez in his quality of secretary of state, thinking it worthy of attention that such intelligence should take place without his being informed of it, and the more so if his majesty knew nothing about it. As the king in reality knew nothing in the world of it, they wrote to Juan de Vargas to keep his eyes open, and to try to make out what was going on, giving an account of what he might be able to discover. He continued to write that these comings and goings were kept up in the usual form and mystery, and he announced that he had learned that this intelligence between Prince Don Juan and M. de Guise, had gone so far as to be *a private confederation between them with the title of Defence of the two Crowns.** This occasioned the king much annoyance and alarm, especially when he saw that they gave him no account of anything, and that he had the proof of intrigues going on at Rome, behind his back, for affairs and projects of the highest importance. He was afraid they were thereby covering some new combination, the consequences of which would be

* ". . . Havian llegado a particular confederacion entre ellos con nombre de defensa de las dos coronas." — *Memorial de Antonio Perez*, pp. 318, 319.

perhaps fatal to the public good and the tranquillity of his states."*

These details are circumstantial and precise. They appear unquestionable. But this is not quite the case. I have read attentively the whole correspondence of Vargas with his court, from the end of December 1577 to the month of June 1580, the date of his death.† I can then say exactly what he knew of the relations and projects of Don Juan with the Guises, and all he communicated to Philip II. and Perez. First of all, I ought to make the remark that not so much even as four months had passed between the arrival of Vargas at Paris and the murder of Escovedo at Madrid, March 31, 1578, and that his information respecting Don Juan and the Guises, which is much less alarming than Perez affirms, and is almost all subsequent to that murder, could have had no influence upon it.

Don Juan had sent Jerome Curiel to Paris in August 1577, to find some funds till he could receive those which he had asked for in Spain, by Escovedo, and which were not forthcoming. Curiel having died, was replaced, in February 1578, by Pedro Arcanti, the *contador*, or paymaster of his army, who was himself succeeded by Alonzo Curiel, the brother of Jerome. Their mission was apparent, as was also his sending

* Memorial de Antonio Perez, pp. 318, 319.

† Papers of Simancas in the Archives of the kingdom, Series B., files 42 to 51.

Longueval de Vault, from whom Vargas, by Don Juan's order, was to conceal nothing, and to whom he was more particularly to communicate whatever interested the Low Countries. Curiel and de Vault corresponded directly from Paris with Philip and Perez. Lastly Don Juan, in the beginning of May 1578, after the death of Escovedo, sent off to Paris Don Alonzo de Sotomayor, charged to come to an understanding with the Guises respecting some important points in the affairs of the Netherlands.* Vargas, who speaks of all these agents and their mission, does not say in any one of his despatches that, after having performed it, they remained or returned to conceal themselves in the closet of the Duke of Guise, and treat mysteriously with him. The relations of Don Juan with the Duke of Guise, which he does not thoroughly know, seem to him to have for their object the triumph of the Catholic cause in the Netherlands, Scotland, and England. There is no mention in any part of his correspondence of their being *confederates for the defence of the two crowns*. Vargas writes, it is true, as early as the 31st of December 1577, that the Guises have projects which tend to make them sovereigns of a part of France; but he does not speak of Don Juan. Philip profits by this overture, and, after having written with his own hand in the margin of the des-

* See the MS. correspondence of Vargas, *passim*, during the year 1578, and the letters of Curiel, de Vault, &c.

patch of Vargas : " certainly, if one could treat with them (the Guises), it would be very convenient for every thing *," he sends a letter to Vargas for the Duke of Guise †, who receives it with great demonstrations of attachment, and says afterwards to the Scottish Ambassador, the usual mediator between him and Vargas : " I will do nothing that I ought not to do against my king ; but wherever there may be any question of the service of God and the Catholic religion, I will always hazard therein my life and fortune." ‡ Thereupon, what does the king reply to Vargas ? " You have done very well to inform me of what the Duke of Guise has communicated to the Scottish Ambassador, and his saying that if any great movement happened in that kingdom, he would remain firm in his obedience to his king and in the defence of the Catholic religion. It would be very useful to gain over the said duke and those of the house of Guise, and to attach them to me devotedly by the best possible means. Accordingly, I charge you to strive for it, on your part, by forwarding it with all suitable dissimulation and address." §

* " Cierta, si se pudiesse tratar con ellos, seria muy à proposito para todo." — *Papers of Simancas*, Series B, file 41., No. 131.

† *Ibid.*, Series B, file 45., No. 209.

‡ " Yo no haré cosa que no deva contra mi rey, pero donde intervenir el servicio de Dios y la religion Catholica siempre aventuraré vida y hazienda." *Ibid.*, Series B, file 45., No. 30.

§ " Muy bien haveis hecho en avisarme de lo que el duque

Philip wanted to entice the Lorraine princes into this narrow and factious union, the preliminaries of which then began, though the conclusion was postponed for some years; till the moment when the death of the Duke of Alençon, the last Catholic heir to the throne of France, increased their fears, emboldened their ambition, and decided them, in the interest of the Holy League, to lean for support upon the king of Spain, whose agents and pensioners they then became. But in 1578, far from negotiating anything against Henry III., whose aid they hoped to obtain for their own projects upon Scotland and England, in favour of their relation Mary Stuart, they proposed a close union between the crowns of Spain and France. The terms in which this proposition was made are too contrary to the assertion of Perez, and, at the same time, too curious for me not to relate them. The Scotch ambassador notified to Vargas, the 13th of April, 1578, at 5 o'clock in the morning, that the Duke of Guise was waiting for him. Vargas went to him. The duke then asked him whether he did not believe that his master, weary of the insults which the Queen of

de Guisa havia comunicado . . . y seria muy conveniente tener grangeados al dicho duque y a los de Guisa, y mantener los en mi devocion por los mejores medios que se pudiere. Y assi os encargo que vos lo procureys por vuestra parte tractandolo con la dissimulacion y cordura que vos sabreys." *Ibid.*, Series B, file 47., No. 47.

England was daily inflicting upon Christendom, would see with pleasure the Duke of Lorraine and themselves opposing her, and whether he would not help them. He gave him to understand, at the same time, that he was negotiating, and had already carried far, this affair with Henry III. and his mother. Vargas having allowed him to entertain vague hopes of the assistance of his master, the duke became more open, begging him to speak to him in confidence, and to tell him frankly whether they might make use of the name of the king of Portugal, who was informed of it and had consented to it, to levy an army of 8000 or 10,000 Germans, destined in appearance for Africa, but which they would embark for Scotland, which it would reach in three days. He added, that it would not, for many reasons, be proper for the kings of Spain and France, or for the duke of Lorraine to figure in this levy, but that if the king of Spain held, at that period, a fleet ready for the service of the enterprise, the latter would have many chances of success. Vargas answered encouragingly, and asked him whether he ought to refer it to the Catholic king; the duke replied, "that it was as yet only a project, but that he would soon discourse with him about it more explicitly. In reporting this conversation to Philip II., Vargas added, "The Duke of Guise believes that your Majesty would, without any extrinsic aid, have terminated the affairs of Scotland, without the dread

of the very Christian king, and that the very Christian king would, on his part, have brought them to an end, without the dread of your Majesty; accordingly, he desires *the union of the two crowns* and the consequences which might result from this union. He thinks that by this means you would be the masters of all, and might lay down the law to the world.”*

Thus, at this period, far from concluding a secret and factious negotiation with Don Juan, for the defence of the two crowns, as Perez pretends, the duke of Guise was meditating a union of the two crowns between the two kings. He did not the less entertain very close relations with Don Juan; but the object of these was the general interests of Catholicism, — the affairs of Scotland, which were common to the duke of Guise and Don Juan, for the one wished to deliver his relation, Mary Stuart, then a prisoner in Sheffield Castle, and the other, according to the rumour of the time, purposed to espouse her, — and lastly, the happy issue of the troubles of the Low Countries, which would permit the valiant and

* “El duque cree que V. Magd. solo huviera dado fin, muchos dias ha, sin el respeto de aca, y el Christianissimo sin el de V. Magd., y lo que dessea la union destas dos coronas, y los efectos que podrian hazer unidos, y como serian señores de todo y podrian dar ley al mundo.” The king puts, in the margin opposite the underlined words, the mark destined to draw attention, *Ojo!* — *Papers of Simancas*, Series B, file 44., No. 114.

ambitious brother of Philip to turn his thoughts and the forces of Spain towards the enterprise against England, in which Philip hesitated much about engaging, and wished, according to his own expression, to march only with *feet of lead*.*

These relations then did not alarm the Catholic king. Vargas, though he advised his master to be very mindful of them, when he would negotiate with the Guises, did not know exactly their full extent. He confines himself to saying that he knows there is great confidence between them, which gives rise to many thoughts, and which goes, perhaps, further, on the part of the Guises, than he imagines.† Reduced to conjectures as to the drift of their relations, he knows only from rumour the aim of their agreement concerning Scotland and England. At one time, he writes to Philip, that a Scotchman who had repaired to Don Juan, is about to embark at Dieppe or Havre‡; at another, he informs him he has learned that in the papers taken from Fray Patro-
nius, an Irish bishop, sent by Rome to excite insurrections in Ireland, — papers transmitted to Queen Elizabeth, — they had found, “the investiture of the kingdom of England, drawn up at Rome, in favour

* “Que como es de tanto momento y consecuencia, conviene caminar en el con el pie de plomo.” — *Papers of Simancae*, Series B, file 47., No. 10.

† *Ibid.*, file 44., No. 89.

‡ *Ibid.*, file 42., No. 132.

of Don Juan."* Then, again, he informs him that the Venetian ambassador has told him that the Scotch ambassador and the Guises had been treating about the marriage of the king of Scotland with the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, and of that between Don Juan and the queen of Scots.† Philip, who liked to be informed of all that was going on, or was supposed to be so, receives this news with pleasure, but without appearing to attach much importance to it. "You did well," he writes to Vargas, "to warn me of what you were told about those marriages between the king of Scotland and the daughter of Lorraine, and that between my brother and the queen of Scots; for though these may be only reports, and moreover, of slight foundation, yet it is proper to keep an account of what is said in such matters."‡

But soon the marriage projects, the ambitious hopes, the youth, beauty, and renown of Don Juan, were swept away by death. After having gained his last victory at Gemblours, this valiant captain, who was not sufficiently patient and adroit as a poli-

* "... Una investidura del regno de Inglaterra hecha en persona del Señor don Juan en Roma." Ibid., file 44., No. 84.

† Papers of Simancas, Series B, file 45., No. 46.

‡ "... Ha sido bien advertirme . . . sobre lo de los casamientos del rey de Escocia con la hija de Lorrena, y di mi hermano con la de Escocia. Y aunque estas cosas deven de ser por via de discurso, y de poco fundamento, todavia es conveniente tener noticia de lo que se dize y discurre en semejantes materias." Ibid., Series B, file 47., No. 47.

tician, despaired of a situation in which, being insulated, almost destitute of military forces, and without money, he had to struggle, at the same time, against the Catholics and the Protestants, the Prince of Orange, the Archduke Mathias, and the Duke of Alençon. He died on the 1st October, 1578, worn out with grief, in his camp near Namur, surrounded by his soldiers, leaving to his calm and skilful successor, the Duke of Parma, who was as profound as a politician as he was great as a general, the care of improving affairs apparently hopeless. Philip regretted him. "I have felt keenly," says he in his letter to Vargas, of 13th October, "the bad news that has reached me of the death of the most illustrious Don Juan, my brother; both because I loved him, and on account of the present conjuncture of my affairs."* A few days after he again expressed the same sentiments. "I loved and esteemed his person," said he, "and I shall miss him in every thing, and particularly in the affairs of Flanders."† Nor was he less keenly regretted by the Duke of Guise, and by Joinville, in Champagne, whither he had retired ever since the month of May, and whence he had sent the captain of his guard to Don Juan to give him the

* ". . . La mala nueva que me ha venido del ilustrissimo don Juan de Austria mi hermano hé sentido en gran manera, assi por lo que le queria y amava, como por ser en tal conyuntura y ocasion . . ."—*Papers of Simancas*, Series B, file 47., No. 55.

† *Ibid.*, No. 29.

excellent advice to temporize, and dissolve, by this means, the coalition of his enemies, composed as it was of discordant elements. He addressed to Vargas, on 4th November, the following dispatch * : —

“ My lord ambassador, the letter you have written me has redoubled the grief I feel in mourning for the death of Señor *Domp Jehan*, in which I have suffered the greatest loss I could ever incur. But, after having been much afflicted, and since there is no other remedy for it but to conform to the will of God, I am obliged to endeavour to bear this sorrow as patiently as I can. I feel it, however, very keenly ; for, when I think of all the kind favours he was pleased to show me, and the honour I had of being loved by his highness, I find many obstacles to my resolutions. Yet, considering that his loss is irrecoverable, and that God has shown his grace to all Christendom, by leaving in his place a prince of so much valour and experience as the Prince of Parma, I am much encouraged to entertain the hope that he will know how to perform, both well and faithfully, whatever may be for the honour of God and the preservation of our said religion ; begging you to assure him that he will never find any body more ready to serve and obey him than I shall be, whenever the opportunity offers ; and, for your part, you may rely on me as on the best friend you have in

* The letter, in the text, is written in the quaint French of that period. — C. C.

this world, who pray to God, after having affectionately recommended myself to your favour, to give you, my lord, a long and happy life.”*

If, in his *Relaciones* and his *Memorial*, Antonio Perez has perverted the correspondence of Vargas concerning Don Juan and the Duke of Guise, we are permitted to suppose that he has not been more scrupulous upon other points. This is, moreover, the moment to examine what other motive, than his devotion to the interests of Philip, could have influenced Perez in compassing the death of Escovedo. I will do so, in referring to the papers of the manuscript process, which are the counterpart of the memoirs of Perez.

I have said that M. Ranke, whose opinion has so much weight, discredited the amours of Perez with the Princess of Eboli. Indeed, he adopts fully the political explanation which Perez has given of the murder of Escovedo, and rejects the particular cause which the enemies of Perez have assigned for it. According to him, Perez could not have been the lover of the princess, because the latter was old and blind of one eye, and because his own wife Dona Juana Coëllo showed him, throughout the duration of his trial, the most ingenuous, constant, and devoted affection. The last reason goes for nothing. As to the objection derived from the age and appearance of the Princess of Eboli, it has not much foundation

* Papers of Simancas, Series B, file 44., No. 211.

either. All contemporary writers agree in praising her beauty.* Born in 1540, she married Ruy Gomez, at Alcala, in 1553, at the age of thirteen †, and was only thirty-eight years old at the present period. She was not one-eyed, but she squinted (*tuerta*). There was then nothing in her person to prevent the intimacy which M. Ranke discredits, but which numerous testimonies place beyond all doubt. I will quote only the most important, waving the considerable presents which Perez had received from the princess, and which he was condemned to give back by a decree of justice. ‡ Don Rodrigo de Castro, the archbishop of Seville, deposed, that Perez made use of objects belonging to the princess as if they were his own, which caused much murmuring; as well as that the princess sent him, from her mansion of Pastraña, mules of burden laden with a thousand objects. §

Dona Cathalina de Herrera related "that one day

* This is how the historian of the House of Silva speaks of her: — "Dona Ana de Mendoza y de la Cerda, hija unica de los condes de Melito, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y dona Catalina de Silva, era por su sangre, por su *hermosura* y por la succession de tan noble casa, uno de los mas apeticidos casamientos de aquel tiempo." — DON SALAZAR y CASTRO, *Historia de la Casa de Silva*, Madrid, 1685., 4to. t. ii. p. 465.

† Details given by Don Manuel Garcia Gonzales, the present archivist of Simancas.

‡ See further, pp. 85, *et seq.*

§ "Que se murmurò mucho como que la princessa le embiasse de Pastraña *acemilas cargadas de cosas*." — *Proceso*, MSS.

Escovedo went and represented to the princess, that the reports spread about the visits of Perez were detrimental to her; and, as he assured her, that it was because he had lived in her household that he spoke thus, the princess arose and replied, that squires had no right to say anything about what noble ladies did; and thereupon she retired to her room." *

This declaration was confirmed by Dona Beatrix de Frias, the wife of Juan Lôpez de Biranco, the paymaster, who added, that all the household of the princess murmured at the frequent visits of Perez, even after the death of Escovedo; so much so, that the Prince of Melito, the Marquis of Fabrara, and the Count of Cifuentes, all nearly related to the princess, wanted to kill Antonio Perez.† This project of the relations of the princess, affirmed by Dona Beatrix de Frias, is avowed by one of them, Don Lorenzo Tellez de Silva, the Marquis of Fabrara, whose deposition is too curious for me not to quote it. "Witness had remarked the bad effect occasioned by the visits of Perez to the house of the princess. He saw that he escorted her to the theatre and that he passed long hours there with her. One day when witness wanted to visit the princess himself, Dona Bernarda Carrera made him wait at the door, and would not let him enter, because Perez and the princess were together; whereat witness was much

* Proceso, MSS.

† Ibid.

shocked. One of his servants had often seen Perez leave the house of the princess at improper hours, and witness himself had seen things still worse. They suggested to him the idea of getting rid of Perez, and he applied himself to it, together with the Count of Cifuentes, who did not visit the princess for the same reasons, and because this intimacy appeared to him very culpable. One Holy Thursday, witness went to Saint Mary's to ask God, in a prayer, to deliver him from the desire he had of assassinating Perez.* These ideas pursued him, especially when he remembered that the princess had asked him whether he knew that Perez was the son of Prince Ruy Gomez de Silva, her husband, and that she had engaged him to give every body to understand so. Witness added, that in the household of the princess every one murmured at this intrigue between her and Perez, and considered that there was not the slightest doubt but that they were the persons who had caused the death of Escovedo, because he had told them that things could not go on so." †

* " Y este declarante viò otras cosas peores, tanto que le obligò a pensar como lo mataria, y lo trato con el conde de Cifuentes, que no entraba en casa de la princesa por lo mismo, y pareciales muy mal aquella amistad. Y un jueves santo se fue este testigo a Santa Maria . . . y pidio a Dios le quitasse un pensamiento que tenià de matar al dicho Antonio Perez."—*Proceso*, MSS.

† *Proceso*, MSS.

This opinion was entertained by everybody; it prevailed in Spain, where more than eight witnesses, of different grades in society, deposed in court, without acting in concert or in secret, "that Escovedo had been killed for having wanted to defend the honour of Prince Ruy Gomez, whose servant he had been." *

What places the guilty connivance of the princess in the murder of Escovedo, in a certain degree, beyond doubt, is her subsequent language and conduct. She said to Beatrix de Frias, "that Escovedo was a slanderer, who spoke very ill of noble ladies, and persuaded the monks, preaching at Saint Mary's, to say very malicious things, which might cause her much displeasure." Beatrix de Frias declared, moreover, that immediately after the murder, the princess asked her what people said about it, adding: "They pretend that I killed him;" to which Beatrix having answered: "Jesus! how can your Excellency say such a strange thing?" The princess replied: "Yes, I tell you the friends of his wife pretend that I did it." † As if to confirm this accusation, she had given to Juan de Mesa, one of the assassins, a *brevet*

* "Que era destenguado y que hablaba muy mal de las mugeres principales y que persuadia a los frailes que iban a predicar a Santa Maria que dixessen palabras maliciosas que a ella le podian dar pesadumbre." Ibid.

† "... Dicen que le maté yo.—Jesus, come dice V. E. cosa tan estraña! — Pues yo os prometo que la cuentona de su muger dice que yo lo hé hecho." — *Proceso*, MSS.

of employment in the administration of her property, so that he might show it, if he were arrested and questioned on his return to Aragon, his native country, whence Perez had fetched him for this murder. This is what the witness Martin Gutierrez, Juan de Mesa's neighbour, declared.*

Besides the motive that Perez and the Princess of Eboli had to rid themselves of Escovedo's *surveillance* and observations, there was still another: they feared the king and his jealousy. Philip was believed to have been particularly intimate with the Princess of Eboli. In spite of his austerity and his four wives, they attributed to him foibles of this kind. An Italian manuscript narrative, of 1584, speaks thus concerning him: "He is very devout, confesses, and receives the sacrament several times a year, makes long prayers every day, and wishes to be of a pure conscience. It is thought, that his greatest sin is that of the flesh, because he is hairy, yet bald-headed, with thin legs, a more than usually spare shape, and a hoarse voice. There are several lords at court who have the reputation of being his sons, such as the duke of P * * * and Don * * * and others."†

* Proceso, MSS.

† E molto devoto, e si confessa e comunica più volte all' anno, e stà in orazione ogni dì e vuole esser netto di coscienza. Stimandosi che il suo maggior peccato sia quello della carne, perochè è peloso e calvo, e hà le gambe sottili, ed è piccolo di staturà meno che di mezzana, e hà la voce grossa. Ed in corte sono alcuni Signori i quali portano nome di esser suoi figli, come il duca di P*** e Don *** ed altri."— *MSS. de la Biblioth. Roy.* 1203., fol. 250.

Who is this duke of P * * * whom the Italian manuscript designates without naming him? It is not difficult to find out. If we consult the list of all the grandees of Spain, or of all the titles of Castile, such as they existed at that period, a list inserted at the end of the same Venetian narrative, in the MSS. No. 1203. of the Royal Library, we find there was no other duke, whose name begins with P, than the Duke of Pastraña.* Now who was the Duke of Pastraña? He was the son of the Princess of Eboli, and the king was reported to be his father; the court believed it. The amours of Philip II., less public and less established than those of Charles V., Henry IV. and Louis XIV., have been transmitted as well founded, if not as certain traditions. Accordingly, Perez and the Princess of Eboli must have dreaded the vengeance of Philip, if their intimacy had been revealed to him. It was, doubtless, to mislead him as to the nature of their intimacy, that the princess had taken care to spread the report that Perez was the son of the prince her husband. But when Escovedo, exasperated, threatened her that he would reveal all to Philip, she must have trembled for herself and Perez. The decisive scene that passed between Escovedo and the princess deserves to be related, cynical as it is; it was witnessed by Rodrigo de Morgado, who lived with Antonio Perez as a

* *Relacion de los titulados de España, &c. — MSS. de la Biblioth. Roy. 1203. fol. 204 à. 259.*

squire, from whom his master had no secrets*, and who often served as an internuncio between him and the princess. He told his brother, André de Morgado, who deposed in a court of justice, "that Escovedo had seen things which appeared to him improper between Perez and the princess; at which he was greatly shocked, and he gave them to understand so. Once he found them both *juntos en la cama, o en el estrado en cosas deshonestas*, and he exclaimed: 'This is what cannot be suffered any longer; and I am obliged to give an account of it to the king.' The princess replied: 'Escovedo, do so, if you like, *que mas quiero el trasero de Antonio Perez que al rey.*'"† In spite of the audacious coarseness of this reply, which the fury of passion and a sort of bravado suggested, the ruin of Escovedo, whose indiscretions were becoming formidable, was doubtless sworn, from this moment, by Perez and the princess. Lastly, if we may believe D'Aubigné, likely to be well informed, there is a testimony still more conclusive than all the others; which is, that of Perez himself, who avowed his amours with the Princess of Eboli, and his rivalry with Philip, when he took refuge, in the beginning of the year 1593, at the court of Henry IV. ‡

* "Por su cavallerizo y le quisò de manera que ningun secreto le encubria."—*Proceso*, MSS.

† *Proceso*, MSS.

‡ "About this time Madame introduced to the king, her brother, a first secretary of Spain named Antonio Perez

Thus, whilst Philip, urged on by Perez, commanded the murder of Escovedo, in the idea that he was yielding to a reason of state, Perez, on the contrary, was following the impulse of his hatred and fears, in getting the royal sanction to kill an old friend who was able to ruin him with the king. If he had had no other motive to hasten the death of Escovedo, than that of the rather vague or even extravagant projects attributed to him, it is likely he would have displayed less resolution and animosity about it. With profound cunning, he deceived Escovedo, by betraying his secrets to the king; and he deceived the king, by representing Escovedo to him as meriting death for his dangerous designs.

He was a great statesman, but he mixed up Spanish gallantries and love intrigues with the most important affairs; and so (as we learned from him) the king of Spain and Antonio Perez having become rivals in the affections of a lady, after the first suspicions had been allayed . . . the matter became very serious, and the king using the advantages of his greatness, &c. . . ."
— D'AUBIGNÉ, *Histoire Universelle*, in fol. Amsterdam, 1626.
t. iii. p. 430.

CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF ESCOVEDO. — PROSECUTION DIRECTED BY HIS FAMILY AGAINST PEREZ. — HESITATION OF PHILIP II. — DISGRACE AND IMPRISONMENT OF PEREZ. — DOWNFAL OF HIS PARTY, AND FORMATION OF THE GRANVELLE MINISTRY.

THE project of putting Escovedo to death arose then far less from the fears of Philip II. or the indiscreet audacity of Don Juan's secretary, than from the desire of vengeance of Antonio Perez and the Princess of Eboli, irritated at his reproaches and alarmed by his indiscretion. Indeed, Escovedo earnestly pressed the Catholic king to send troops and money to his brother, whose position in the Netherlands was awkward and perilous; he blamed the system of kindness and concession recently adopted towards the Flemings, a system which, in his opinion, could only lead to the justification of rebellion, and the extension of heresy; he maintained that they could not succeed in reducing the Low Countries and governing them without employing arms*; he recommended first the invasion of the mari-

* See Escovedo's Letters to Philip II., of the month of April 1577, which were intercepted and sent to the Prince of

time provinces of Holland and Zealand, which were the most uncultivated as well as the most formidable, and the occupation of which would be, in his opinion, more difficult than even the conquest of England*; he always discoursed openly to Philip about the invasion of the latter country; a project ever so dear to the ambition of the duke his master, though postponing its execution till after the entire subjection of the Netherlands. It was doubtless with this view, that he had proposed to fortify, upon the coast of Biscay, a port that might serve as a place for embarking, as well as for sheltering and revictualling the ships destined at a later period for the expedition

Orange. They are mentioned in fragments in the *Grand Chronicles of Holland, Zealand, &c.* by JEAN-FRANÇOIS LEFÈVRE, fol. Dordrecht, 1601., t. ii. p. 136. and others. Escovedo says, in the letter of 6th April:—“Let your Majesty be persuaded that this affair can, for good reasons, only be remedied by fire and sword, and for that we must provide.”

* In the letter of 9th April, the Spanish copy of which exists in London, in the State Paper Office, the Prince of Orange not having failed to send it to Elizabeth, Escovedo says: “Si milagro ha de curar este negocio ya es tiempo que llegue; si manos y fuerça, V. Mag. prevenga con tiempo lo necesario, yo por lo que veo no haria estima que ocupasen los lugares de tierra ferma; a lo de las islas se ha de atender, y esto tengo por mas dificultoso que lo de Inglaterra. Si se tomase aquello tambien se tomarà el otro. Y para hazerlo basta mediana fuerça. No piense V. M. que digo esto por el negocio del Signor Don Juan que le dixò muy atras sino porque como ha mucho que le digo non tiene otro remedio el de V. M., y el tiempo lo ha mostrado y lo mostrarà cada hora.” — *State Paper Office, Spain, A. D. 1577.*

against England. Such a design can be easily understood to emanate from an enterprising but sensible man like Escovedo, whose letters, in general, proclaim both penetration and foresight; whereas, we should be at a loss to understand the factious and extravagant intention ascribed to him by Perez—viz., to secure the possession of the rock of Mogro to Don Juan, that he might thence make himself master of Spain, after having invaded England.

There was a wide difference between Escovedo's real designs and those attributed to him. He was an agitator, not a conspirator. But distrust inclines to credulity, and nobody is more easy to deceive than a suspicious prince. Accordingly, the cunning Perez easily succeeded in causing his old friend to be suspected. Moreover, the restless ardour of Escovedo, the importunity of his demands, and his ambitious views were well calculated to trouble the royal tranquillity of Philip, and annoy his suspicious jealousy. This prince, who exhausted himself in impracticable enterprises during the last fifteen years of his life, knew not how to distinguish in others what was really to be feared from what was only chimerical. He believed Escovedo was dangerous, because he saw he was exacting; and he found it convenient to get rid of him. He, therefore, gave Perez instructions to put him to death.

This order would appear strange on the part of a king, if we did not call to mind the practices as well

as the theories of that violent age so fertile in assassinations. Death was then the last argument of belief, the extreme but frequent means employed by parties, kings, and subjects. They were not satisfied with killing; they believed they had the right. Certain casuists attributed this right, some to princes, others to the people. Here is what the friar Diego de Chaves, Philip's confessor, wrote upon the very subject of Escovedo's death: "According to my view of the laws, the secular prince, who has power over the life of his inferiors or subjects, even as he can deprive them of it for a just cause, and by judgment in form, may also do so without all this, since superfluous forms and all judicial proceedings are no laws for him who may dispense with them. It is, consequently, no crime on the part of a subject who, by a sovereign order, has put another subject to death. We must believe that the prince has given this order for a just cause, even as the law always presumes that there is one in all the actions of the sovereign." *

* "Le advierto segun lo que yo entiendo de las leyes que el principe seglar, que tiene poder sobre la vida de suo subditos y vasallos, como se la puede quitar por justa causa y por juyzio formado, lo puede hazer, sin el, teniendo testigos, pues la orden en lo de mas, y tela de los juyzios es nada por sus leyes, en las quales el mismo puede dispensar. . . . No tiene culpa el vasallo que por su mandado matase a otro que tambien fuere vasallo suyo, por que se ha de pensar que lo manda con justa causa, como el derecho presume que la ay en todas las

But notwithstanding these singular maxims, the king and his minister had recourse to secret means in order to get rid of Escovedo. Perez did not bring it about so quickly as he seems to say *; several attempts failed at first. Perez attempted to poison Escovedo at his own table before he had him attacked by night in the streets of Madrid, by the assassins, who killed him at a few paces from his house. In the MS. Process, Antonio Enriquez, the page of Perez, thus relates † the phases and the execution of this plot, in which he took an important part: —

“Being one day at leisure in the apartment of Diego Martinez, the major-domo of Antonio Perez, Diego asked me whether I knew any of my countrymen who would be willing to stab a person with a knife. He added, that it would be profitable and well paid, and that, even if death resulted from the blow, it was of no consequence. I answered, that I would speak of it to a mule driver of my acquaintance, as, in fact, I did; and the muleteer un-

acciones del principe supremo.” This theory occurs in a letter addressed, September 1589, to Perez by the Confessor of Philip II. — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 76.

* According to the narrative of Perez, it was on Holy Thursday that the Marquis of Los Velez expressed so strongly the opinion that we have quoted, p. 22. about the propriety of Escovedo's death. Now Escovedo was killed on Easter Monday, five days after. — *Memorial de Antonio Perez*, p. 330.

† Deposition of Antonio Enriquez, July 30, 1585, before Rodrigo Vasquez of Arce, President of the Council of Finances. — *Proceso*, MSS.

dertook the affair. Afterwards, Diego Martinez gave me to understand, with rather puzzling reasons, that it would be necessary to kill the individual, who was a person of importance, and that Antonio Perez would approve of it; on this, I remarked that it was not an affair to be trusted to a muleteer, but to persons of a better stamp. Then Diego Martinez added, that the person to be killed often came to the house, and that, if we could put anything in his food or drink, we must do so; because that was the best, surest, and most secret means. * It was resolved to have recourse to this method, and with all dispatch.

“During these transactions, I had occasion to go to Murcia. Before my departure, I spoke of it to Martinez, who told me I should find, in Murcia, certain herbs well adapted to our purpose; and he gave me a list of those which I was to procure. In fact, I sought them out and sent them to Martinez, who had provided himself with an apothecary, whom he had sent for from Molina in Aragon. It was in my house that the apothecary, assisted by Martinez,

* “Y el Diego Martinez despues le diò a entender por razones confusas que queria que le matasen, y que era persona de importancia, y que Antonio Perez gustaba dello. Y visto por este declarante, le respondiò que aquel no era negocio para fiarlo de un mozo de mulas, sino de personas de mas partes. Y el dicho Diego Martinez le dixo, que la persona que se avia de matar comia muchos veces en casa, y que si pudiese hacer alguna cosa que en comida ò bebida, se le podia hacer, y era lo mejor, y mas seguro y secreto.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

distilled the juice of those herbs. In order to make an experiment of it afterwards, they made a cock swallow some, but no effect followed; and what they had thus prepared, was found to be good for nothing. The apothecary was then paid for his trouble, and sent away.

“ A few days after, Martinez told me he had in his possession a certain liquid fit to be given to drink, adding that Antonio Perez, the secretary, would trust nobody but me, and that, during a repast which our master was to give in the country, I should only have to pour out some of this water for Escovedo, who would be among the guests, and for whom the preceding experiments had already been tried. I answered, that unless my master himself gave me the order, I would not have a hand in poisoning anybody. Then the secretary, Antonio Perez, called me one evening in the country, and told me how important it was for him, that the secretary Escovedo should die; that I must not fail to give him the beverage in question on the day of the dinner: and that I was to contrive the execution of it with Martinez; adding, moreover, good promises and offers of protection in whatever might concern me.*

* “ Y este declarante le dixò que sino se lo mandaba su amo, que no se queria meter en matar à nadie. Y asi el Secretario Antonio Perez le llamò una tarde en la casa del campo suya, y le dixo como le importaba que el Secretario Escobedo muriese, y que en todo caso estubiese prevenido de darle la bebida el dia que fuese el convite: y que para la disposicion se viesse y

“I went away very contented, and consulted with Martinez as to the measures to be taken. The arrangement for the dinner was as follows: entering the house by the passage of the stables, which are in the middle, and advancing into the first room, we found two side-boards, one for the service of plates, and the other for that of the glasses, from which we were to supply the guests with drink. From the said room, on the left, we passed to that where the tables were laid, and the windows of which looked out on the country. Between the room where they were to dine, and that where the side-boards stood, was a square room, serving as antichamber and passage. Whilst they were eating, I was to take care that every time the secretary Escovedo asked for drink, I should be the person to serve him. I had thus the opportunity of giving him some twice; pouring the poisoned water into his wine * at the moment I passed through the antichamber, about a nutshell-ful, as I had been ordered. The dinner over, secretary Escovedo went away, but the others

comunicase con el dicho Diego Martinez, dandole palabra y ofrecimiento de amistad en sus cosas.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

* “Y assi hube ocasion de darle de beber dos veces a este declarante, echando en el vino el agua venenosa prevenida que tenia Diego Martinez en su poder, que se la echaba en el vino al pasar la quadra, cadavez le echaba la cantidad de lo que cabria en una cascara de nuez, que asi era la orden que avia; y en acabando de comer el Secretario Escobedo se fue, y los demas se quedaron jugando.” *Ibid.*

remained to play, and Antonio Perez having gone out for a moment, rejoined his major-domo and me in one of the apartments over the court-yard, where we gave him an account of the quantity of water that had been poured into secretary Escovedo's glass ; after which, he returned to play. We heard, afterwards, that the beverage had produced no effect.*

"A few days subsequent to this ill success, secretary Antonio Perez gave another dinner in what is called Cordon House, which belonged to the count of Puñon Rostro, where secretary Escovedo, Dona Juana Coëllo, the wife of Perez, and other guests were present. Each of them was served with a dish of milk or cream, and, in Escovedo's, was mixed a powder like flour.† I gave him, moreover, some wine mixed with the water of the preceding dinner. This time it operated better, for secretary Escovedo was very ill, without guessing the reason. During his illness, I found means for one of my friends, the son of captain Juan Rubio, governor of the princi-

* "Y en esto saliò el Secretario Antonio Perez con escusa de mear, y se metiò con este declarante y su mayordomo en un aposento de los de el patio, donde le enseñaron la cantidad del agua, que le avian dado à beber al dicho Secretario Escobedo ; y con esto se volviò à jugar : y despues se entendiò que la bebida no fue de ningun provecho, ni hizò efecto." — *Proceso, MSS.*

† "Se diò a cada uno una escudilla que non se acuerda bien si era de natas o leche : y en la de Escobedo se avian echado unos polvos como de harina." *Ibid.*

pality of Melfi, and formerly Perez's major-domo (which son, after having been page to Dona Juana Coëllo, was a scullion in the king's kitchens), to form an acquaintance with secretary Escovedo's cook, whom he saw every morning. Now, as they prepared for the sick man a separate broth, this scullion, taking advantage of a moment when nobody saw him, cast into it a thimble-full of a powder that Diego Martinez had given him. When secretary Escovedo had taken some of this food, they found that it contained poison. They subsequently arrested one of Escovedo's female slaves who must have been employed to prepare the pottage; and, upon this proof, they hung her in the public square at Madrid, though she was innocent. *

"Secretary Escovedo having escaped all these plottings, Antonio Perez adopted another plan; viz., that we should kill him some evening with pistols, stilettoes, or rapiers, and that, without delay. I started, therefore, for my country, to find one of my intimate friends, and a stiletto with a very thin blade, a much better weapon than a pistol for murdering a man. I travelled post, and they gave me

* Echò en ella un dedal de ciertos polvos, que el dicho Diego Martinez le avia dado : y comido el Secretario Escobedo, de la holla, hallaron que tenia tosigo, por la qual vinieron à prender a una esclava de Escobedo, que debia de ser la que tenia a cargo el aderezar la holla, y asi se sospechò que ella lo havia hecho, y con esto indicio la ahorcaron en la plaza de Madrid sin culpa."—*Proceso*, MSS.

some bills of exchange of Lorenzo Spinola at Genoa, to get money at Barcelona, and which, in fact, I received on arriving there."

Here Enriquez relates, that he enticed into the plot one of his brothers, named Miguel Bosque, to whom he promised a sum of gold and the protection of Perez*; that they arrived at Madrid the very day Escovedo's slave † was hanged; that, during his absence, Diego Martinez had fetched from Aragon, for the same object, two resolute men, named Juan de Mesa and Insausti; that the very day after his arrival, Diego Martinez had assembled them all four, as well as the scullion Juan Rubio, outside Madrid, to decide as to the means and the moment of the murder; that they had agreed upon this; that Diego Martinez had procured them a sword, broad and fluted up to the point, to kill Escovedo with, and had armed them all with daggers; and that Antonio Perez had gone, during that time, to pass the holy week at Alcalá ‡, doubtless with the intention of turning suspicion from him when the death of Escovedo was ascertained. Then Antonio Enriquez adds: —

* "Y se concertò con un medio hermano suyo, que se llamaba Miguel Bosque, para hacer ha dicha muerte, ofreciendole para la buelta ciertos escudos de oro y mas la amistad que grangearia de Antonio Perez." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "Y el mismo dia que llegaron, ahorcaron à la esclava de Escobedo." *Ibid.*

‡ "En este tiempo se fue el Secretario Antonio Perez a Alcalá la semana santa." *Ibid.*

“It was agreed, that we should all meet every evening upon the little square of Saint James (Jacobo), whence we should go and watch on the side by which secretary Escovedo was to pass; which was done. Insausti, Juan Rubio, and Miguel Bosque, were to waylay him; while Diego Martinez, Juan de Mesa, and I, were to walk about in the neighbourhood, in case our services should be required in the murder. On Easter Monday, March 31, the day the murder was committed, Juan de Mesa and I were later than usual in repairing to the appointed spot, so that, when we arrived at St. James’s Square, the four others had already started to lie in ambush for the passing of secretary Escovedo. Whilst we were loitering about, Juan de Mesa and I heard the report that Escovedo had been assassinated. We then retired to our lodgings. Entering my room, I found Miguel Bosque there, in his doublet, having lost his cloak and pistol; and Juan de Mesa found, likewise, Insausti at his door, who had also lost his cloak, and whom he let secretly into his house.”*

It was Insausti who had struck Escovedo. He had despatched him at one blow with the sword which Diego Martinez had given him, and which Juan de Mesa and he then flung into the well of the house they inhabited.† The same night Juan Rubio went

* *Proceso*, MSS.

† “Y dixò que Ynsausti y Juan de Mesa avian hechado el

over to Alcala, to inform Perez of what had passed; who, hearing that nobody had been arrested, rejoiced heartily.* The murderers were sent off from Madrid in all haste, and carefully rewarded. Miguel Bosque received a hundred gold crowns from the hand of Ferdinand de Escobar, clerk in the household of Antonio Perez, and returned to his country.† Juan de Mesa, Antonio Enriquez, Juan Rubio, and Insausti, departed for Aragon. They went to Babiera, and thence to Saragossa. Juan de Mesa received, for his reward, a gold chain, fifty doubloons of eight or four hundred gold crowns, and a cup of fine silver. The princess of Eboli gave him, in writing, a title of employment in the administration of her property.‡ Diego Martinez brought, to the three others, a brevet of *alferez* or ensign in the service of the king of

estoque en un poso que avia en el corral de su posada, y que era un estoque largo con canal hasta la punta, y que el que matò a Escobedo fue Ynsausti con estoque y que no le diò mas de una herida, de la qual murió luego." *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Y este fue el que la misma noche fue a Alcala a dar cuenta al Secretario Antonio Perez de como estaba ya hecho, y el le preguntò si avian preso a alguno, y aviendo sabido que nõ, se holgò mucho." *Ibid.*

† "Hernando de Escobar clerigo, que se quedò en Alcala, diò 100 escudos de oro à Miguel Bosque que fueron los que este declarante le ofreciò en Aragon, quando le traxo el hermano del susodiche." *Ibid.*

‡ "Juan de Mesa avia trahido una cadena de oro, y cinquenta doblones de a ocho, y una tassa de plata buena. . . Y la Princesa de Eboli le havia dado un papel de la administracion de su hacienda." *Ibid.*, Martin Gutierrez, 10th witness.

Spain, with an income of twenty gold crowns.* Being in possession of these brevets, signed by Philip II. and Perez, on the 19th of April, 1578, nineteen days after the assassination of Escovedo, the murderers dispersed in order to retire each to his own post. Juan Rubio went to Milan, Antonio Enriquez to Naples, and Insausti to Sicily.† They thus concealed their traces from the unfortunate family of Escovedo, who would necessarily have much difficulty in discovering the means of prosecuting their vengeance for his death.

They were not mistaken, however, as to the really guilty party. In spite of the precautions with which Perez had surrounded himself, the widow and children of Escovedo accused him, and demanded justice of the king. Agreeing in opinion with those who were best able to form exact conjectures, an opinion that was soon entertained by every body ‡, they

* Diego Martinez . . . diò a cada uno una carta y cedula de su Majestad, con veinte escudos de entretenimiento con titulos de Alferes . . . todas las cédulas eran a 19 de Abril, 1578, y la muerte fue a 31 de Marzo del dicho año, dia segundo de pascua de resurreccion." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "Recogidos estos despachos, todos tres fueron a Napoles, este declarante, Ynsausti, y Juan Rubio il Picaro; y desde alli el Alferes Ynsausti a Sicilia, y luego que llegò murió; y el Alferes Juan Rubio al cabo de un mes o dos que estaba en Napoles en casa de su padre que era de alli se fue a Milan a su entretenimiento, y este declarante se quedò en el suyo en Napoles." *Ibid.*

‡ According to the depositions of different witnesses heard on the trial, and some of which we had already quoted. This

traced back the assassination to Perez and the Princess of Eboli. Philip granted an audience to Don Pedro Escovedo; listened with every appearance of interest to his complaints against the murderers of his father; received from him the memorials and requests in which the family of Escovedo denounced them to him; and promised to hand them over to the tribunals, if there was any occasion. Though this prince was not sorry to see suspicion fall upon anybody rather than himself *, he was, nevertheless, afraid of the noise of a process in which he might even be criminated. He was, from that time, much embarrassed between the complaints of the Escovedo family and the dangers of Perez; his duties as a king and his interest as an accomplice; and the more so, as the family of Escovedo found very powerful protectors about him. The principal was Matheo Vasquez, one of the secretaries of his cabinet; the secret enemy of Perez, jealous of his extreme power, and who was the less afraid of boldly attacking this detested favourite, as he thought he had found an opportunity of ruining him. He joined Don Pedro

opinion had even spread beyond Spain. "Y dixò (Antonio Henriquez) que en Italia y Flandes se decia publicamente que la causa porque avia hecho matar Antonio Perez a Escobedo, era por cosas de la Princesa de Eboli."— *Proceso*, MSS.

* "El rey, à quien por grandes consideraciones, y diferentes riesgos, y propios, no le desplugò que aquella muerte descargase en otra parte, como nublado, abraçò facilmente, alo menos dexò lo correr."— *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 7, 8.

de Belandi, Pedro Negrete, and Diego Muñez of Toledo, who advised and directed the Escovedos in their proceedings*; and he strenuously supported their cause with the irresolute Philip, to whom he wrote as follows:—

“Sire, people suspect this *secretary* (Antonio Perez) of being the author of the other’s death. Accordingly, they say he is afraid of the consequences; and that this is why he has ever since the event surrounded himself with precautions. They pretend that it was a great friend of the deceased who assassinated the latter, because he had found him interfering with his honour, and *on account of a woman*.† The day when the wife of the said secretary went to see the widow of the deceased, people assure us that the widow raised her voice and uttered maledictions against the author of the crime, which has created a sensation. If your Majesty would secretly interrogate Negrete, both upon what is said about that

* “La Princesa . . . Estaba quejosa de Don Pedro de Velandi, Matheo Vasquez, y Pedro Negrete su ayo, porque hacian junta en casa de Nuñez de Toledo, y avian aconsejado a Don Pedro de Escobedo, pidiese la muerte de su padre a Antonio Perez.”—*Proceso*, MSS. Deposition of Geronimo Dias, 11th witness. Matteo Vasquez de Leça, “secretario favorecido del rey, y Augustino de Toledo de su consejo, y Pedro Nuñez su hermano enemigos de Antonio Perez.”—CABREBA, *Felipe Segundo, Rey de España*, in fol., Madrid, 1619., lib. xii. p. 972.

† “Y por una muger.”—*Memorial de Antonio Perez del hecho de su Causa*, p. 304.

death and the person he suspects, I believe your Majesty would do well, and also to ask the grounds upon which his statement is founded. In order to give satisfaction to the ministers and to the whole state, which this affair shocks in the highest degree, and to give a different turn to opinions which are assuming an unpleasant tone of very serious consequence, it is expedient that your Majesty should order, without delay, an inquiry into the truth by all possible ways and means." *

Philip adopted, from that moment, a strange, crooked line of conduct. He listened complacently to Matheo Vasquez, and appeared to concert matters with Perez. He informed the latter of the formal accusation of which he was the object, the very day the family of Escovedo laid their complaints before him †; and he communicated to him the powerful enmity that was in operation against him. At the same time he promised, and pledged his knightly word, that he would not forsake him ‡; but he took

* "Y por satisfacer à los ministros, y à la republica, que tan escandalizada està del negocio, y divertir opiniones que andan malas, y de muy dañosa consecuencia, conviene mucho que V. Magestad mande apretadissimamente, que se siga y procure por todas vias y modos posibles averiguar la verdad."—*Memorial de Antonio Perez del hecho de su Causa*, p. 305.

† "El mismo rey se lo referiò à Antonio Perez el mismo dia."—*Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 7.

‡ "Pero contienen (villetes originales) palabra dada de caballero, que no le faltaria jamas, pidiendo le el rey que no le dexase. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

no decided step to extricate him from this dangerous position. Perez, who believed the king to be weak, and, perhaps, perfidious, addressed to him this expression of his sufferings: —

“This affair,” said he, “gives me daily a thousand cares which would consume a rock.”* “Your Majesty,” added he, “may put the criminal’s cap on me; for I am sure that, in all this, I shall have to pay for it all.”† Philip answered him, with an affectionate familiarity: “You cannot be to-day in your senses; do not fancy such things as you have said to me.”‡ Perez, in spite of these assurances, foresaw the fate that was reserved for him; he wrote earnestly to the king, saying: “I am afraid, Sire, that, some moment when I expect it the least, my enemies will stab me; or, taking your Majesty unawares, and relying on your Majesty’s kindness and easy nature, my envious rivals will succeed in their designs. I speak thus on account of what is going on, because I know that my enemies are indefatigable.”§ The king answered, upon the margin

* “Desto me vien en cada dia mill pesadumbres que can-sarian a una piedra.”—*Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 11.

† “V. Magd. me mande encorozar, que yo creo que en esto pararé en pago de todo.” *Ibid.*, p. 18.

‡ “No deve de reynar hoy muy buen humor: y no creays lo que aqui dezis.” *Ibid.*

§ “Temo, Señor, que quando no me cate me han de abrir un costado mis enemigos, y que tomando à V. Magd. descuy-dado, y a su mansedumbre ygual a todo, y fiados en su sufrimiento, han de obrar la invidia, y digo esto con esta ocasion, por que se que no paran.” *Ibid.*

of this letter: "I have already told you that you cannot possibly be in your senses; it is useless for them to persevere; be assured it will be a mere loss of time and trouble."*

Perez would fain have believed so; but he knew his master too well for that. Accordingly, he asked his permission to quit his service, in order to withdraw his person from the envy of some and the vengeance of others. Philip would not consent.† Taking a resolution at once bold, generous, and ingenious, Perez then pressed the king to give him up to justice; but alone, and without involving the Princess of Eboli in the process. He assured him that the royal secret would not be compromised, since none of the murderers had been arrested, and that the prosecutor possessed no proof against him, Antonio Perez.‡ Philip would not face this dangerous proof. He preferred that Perez should impart in confidence

* "Por lo demas que aqui dezis, dixe en esse otro papel, que no deveys de estar de buen humor, y aun que ellos no paren, creed que no les valdrà." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 18.

† Que a el le dexase retirar de la corte, y de su servicio, y apartar su persona del odio y invidia, procedido todo de su favor y gracia . . . el rey no queria esto." *Ibid.*, p. 16.

‡ "... que se remetiese a justicia aquella demanda en quanto a el tocava, teniendo la mano en lo de mas de la Princesa de Eboli . . . aseguravale Antonio Perez al rey, que nungun inconveniente sucederia para lo que el recelava, y recatava que no se entendiese aver sido por orden suya aquella muerte, pues ninguno de los que avian hecho el efecto havia sido cogido, ny tenia parte contraria algun genero de prueba contra el." *Ibid.*, p. 13.

to the president of the council of Castile, Don Antonio de Pazos, bishop of Cordova, the causes which had led to the death of Escovedo; and that Don Antonio de Pazos should speak to Escovedo's son and Matheo Vasquez, in order to engage the former to desist from his prosecution, and the latter to renounce his hostility.*

The president of Castile, being informed of everything, and not considering Perez to be guilty, since he had obeyed his master's order, sent for Escovedo's eldest son, and said to him: "Señor Don Pedro Escovedo, the king has handed over to me the memorial of yourself and your mother, in which you demanded justice, for the death of your father, against Antonio Perez and the Princess of Eboli. His Majesty commands me to tell you, that you shall have full justice, without any respect of persons, rank, sex, or condition. But I ought first to engage you to examine well what grounds or convincing testimony you have to establish your proofs, and whether they be of a nature to exculpate you from the offence you would give to persons of such consideration. For if these proofs are not very sufficient, and do not justify your complaint, the demonstration will turn against yourself; the princess being the person she is, and her condition and very high quality being worthy of so much respect, and

* Relaciones de Antonio Perez, p. 14.

Antonio Perez being also what he is, the descendant of fathers and ancestors, for ages servants of the crown, and occupying the high office with which he is now invested. Lastly, and before you answer me, I will also tell you confidentially, and I affirm, upon my word as a priest, that the princess and Antonio Perez are as innocent as I am.* This discourse produced great effect upon Pedro Escovedo. He had nothing but suspicions against Perez and the princess, and no proof of which he could judicially make use. He replied then to the president of Castile: "My lord, since it is thus, I pledge my word for myself, my brother, and my mother, never more to accuse either of this death." †

Don Antonio de Pazos afterwards sent for Matheo Vasquez, and told him, rather severely, that, considering he had no call to pursue the murderers of Escovedo, either by his functions, or by any obligation he had towards deceased, and, moreover, as he was a priest, his solicitude seemed very suspicious: "Forbear, then," added he, "for the affair is very different from what

* This discourse (pp. 14 and 15 of the *Relaciones*) ends with these words:—"Pero antes que me respondais os digo tambien en confianza, y afirmo en verbo de sacerdote, que la princesa, y Antonio Perez, estan sin culpa como yo."

† "Señor, pues asy es, yo doy mi palabra por mi, por mi hermano, y por mi madre de no hablar mas en esta muerte, ny contra el uno, ni contra el otro." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 15.

you suppose.”* But Matheo Vasquez did not forbear. In default of the sons of Escovedo, he raised up another relation, who continued to press the king to do justice for this murder. Philip was extremely annoyed by these supplications, which, however, did not come before the tribunal till ten years after. The haughty Princess of Eboli complained passionately to him of the offensive audacity with which they did not fear to name and accuse her: “Your Majesty,” wrote she, “may remember having received from me a communication of what I knew had been said by Matheo Vasquez and his party: ‘that they who set their foot in my house, lost your Majesty’s good graces.’† I know that they have gone still farther since then, even so far as to say, for instance, that Perez procured the death of Escovedo. on my account ‡, and that he is under such obligations towards my house, that he was obliged to do so when required. Since those people are so daring, and have proceeded to such a pitch of boldness and irreverence, your Majesty is, as a king and a gentleman, obliged to make such an example of

* *Reporta es, que es muy diferente negocio del que pensays.*—*Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 15.

† “. . . . Lo que avia entendido, que dezia Matheo Vasquez, y los suyos, que perdian la gracia de Vuestra Magestad, los que entravan en mi casa.” *Ibid.*, p. 25.

‡ “Despues desto he sabido que han pasado mas adelante, como à dezir, que Antonio Perez matò a Escovedo por mi respecto.” *Ibid.*, pp. 25—26.

them, that the report of it may spread wherever the slander has been known. If your Majesty should not be thus minded, but would like the reputation of my house to be lost, together with the fortune of my ancestors and the well-deserved favour of the prince my husband, if their services were repaid with such a return and such a reward, I shall have, at least, fulfilled, by speaking to you as I do, what I owe to myself. I entreat your Majesty to send me back this letter; what I say being only for a gentleman in whose discretion I confide, with all the resentment that such indignity deserves.”*

At the same time, she called on the king to chastise Matheo Vasquez, whom she called a *Moorish dog*.† As the king wished to know, by friar Diego de Chaves, whether she had any proofs of what she advanced against Vasquez, she appealed to the testimony of Don Gaspar Quiroga, cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, and Hernando del Castillo, Philip's chaplain, neither of whom refused her.‡ The embarrassment of this prince increased more and more. Animosity had declared itself openly, in his cabinet,

* “. . . Con aver dicho yo esto, me havre descargado con V. Magd. de la satisfacion que devo à quien soy. Y supplico à V. Magd. me buelva este papel, pues lo que he dicho en el es, como a cavallero, y en confiança de tal, y con el sentimiento de tal offensa.”—*Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 26.

† “Sino que la desvergüenza de agora de *ese perro moro* que V. Magd. tiene en su servicio.” *Ibid.*, p. 28.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 28—29.

between Perez and Vasquez. Perez, being at the Escorial, had sent Diego de Fuerza, his officer of state, to the house of Vasquez, to fetch an official paper that was to be submitted to the king. Vasquez had given it up, and attached another paper to it, in his own hand-writing, full of denunciations, and (which was the highest insult in Spain) pretending that Perez was not of good caste.* Perez, indignant, had carried this paper to Philip, intreating him to grant him satisfaction of his calumniator, or to allow him to get it himself.† Philip seemed to promise, but postponed, it. “Before proceeding against Matheo Vasquez,” wrote he, “respecting that paper or libel, it would be well to despatch the private state papers (*consultas*) he has in hand, and which concern a great number of persons in this *despacho* which is already encumbered.”‡

But he added in another letter: “I have not had courage to listen to the different *consults* of you know

* “Un mes antes desta prision estando el dicho Secretario Antonio Perez en el Escorial con Su Magd. embiò a Diego de Fuerza su oficial de estado en casa de Matheo Vasquez por el pliego de estado tocante al dicho Antonio Perez, y volvió con el, y encima un papel metido entre el y el del despacho, en que venia atado y abierto, en que decia que el Secretario Antonio Perez no era de buena casta.”—*Proceso*, MSS.

† “Y agora lo vee V. Magd. a quien supplico tome resolucion, o à my me suelte, para que yo me satisfaga.”—*Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 31.

‡ “Que si ostotro se commençava quedaria embaraçado el despacho de muchos negociantes.” *Ibid.*, p. 33.

who."* His intention was evident. Philip, who always sought to gain time, says the Venetian ambassador Contarini, even in matters where time could be of no avail†, protracted the affair, in order not to be deprived of the services of Matheo Vasquez. He was much attached to this secretary, who pleased him both by his manners and his industry, classifying the petitions and requests in his closet‡, despatching them to the different councils, or to the various ministers whose opinion respecting them was appealed to, and receiving them again to submit them definitely to his royal decision. Moreover, Matheo Vasquez was forming, with the friar confessor Diego de Chaves and Count de Barajas, named, after the death of the Marquis de Los Velez, *mayor-domo-mayor* to the queen, one of those court leagues called *amistad*, similar to that which existed between Antonio Perez, the Marquis de Los Velez, and the

* "No me ha bastado el animo a entender en las consultas, que aquel hombre tiene de particulares." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 32.

† "Il serenissimo rè è per essere di natura flematica e confidare in molte cose più nel beneficio del tempo, di quello che forse non possa riuscir, è molto tardo nelle sue resoluzioni importanti." — *Relazione del clarissimo Signor Thomaso Contarini*, MSS. des Affaires Etrangères.

‡ "Matheo Vasquez de Leça, Secretario favorecido del rey . . . avia la remision de los memoriales . . . viniendo a sus manos todas las consultas, y embiando les despachadas a sus tribunales; de manera que parecia el archisecretario." — CABALLERA, *Felipe Segundo, Rey de España*, lib. xii. pp. 972—987.

Cardinal of Toledo, Don Gaspar de Quiroga.* Philip commissioned therefore friar Diego de Chaves to intercede with Perez and the Princess of Eboli, in order to reconcile them with Vasquez.†

From all these symptoms of declining credit, Perez guessed that his disgrace was approaching. He wrote to his master: "I see that after having served my prince with the weak talents I possess, after having shown him boundless fidelity to and after the particular assurances he has given me to promote me in consideration and honours, my evil genius gains the day; whilst every thing succeeds with *the other*, in spite of his innumerable faults, and his offences against a noble lady and a man who wanted to be useful, and who, to be so, had ventured to do what I have done."‡ His evil genius was indeed

* "Liga de amistad del conde de Barajas contra la amistad del Marques de los Veles y de Antonio Perez." Perez says elsewhere: — "El conde de Barajas era grande amigo de Matheo Vasques por una secreta conformidad en modos y medios para poscer la voluntad de su principe . . . y el confessor ofendido del principe Ruy Gomez por una apretura en que le pusò los gaznates secretamente en el tiempo que era confessor del principe Don Carlos." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 35.

† *Ibid.*, p. 29.

‡ "Y quiero creer los hechizos, y mas viendo que mis servicios con el talento poco que tengo, y con la mucha fee y ley al de V. Magd. y con las prendas tan estrechas que tengo de V. Magd. de quererme mirar y honrar, vence mi deschida, y la ventura destotro tantas culpas tuyas, y offensas à la honrra de tal Señora y a un hombre que ha deseado servir y aventurar por acertar esto, tanto como yo." *Ibid.*, p. 31.

gaining the day. Philip, who had, at length, heard the rumours which were afloat as to the intimate connection existing between the Princess of Eboli and Perez, and the real causes of the death of Escovedo, believed, doubtless, they had played him a trick.* He resolved therefore to rid himself of Perez, as a worn-out tool and a successful rival.

First and foremost, it was necessary to secure somebody capable of replacing, in his confidence and in the management of affairs, both Perez and the Marquis de Los Velez, who had just died worn out by suspicions and melancholy.† He thought of Cardinal Granvelle, son of the chancellor of Charles V., and one of the most able statesmen of his time. Member of the Spanish council of state, and the oldest after the Duke of Alva, he had been principal minister of Philip in the Netherlands till 1564, at which period he had retreated before the hatred of the Flemings from Brussels to Besançon, had been afterwards appointed viceroy of Naples, and was then at the court of Rome. The catholic king wrote him the following letter: "Very reverend father in Christ,

* "Y Su Magd. aur no estaba desengañado de que le avia engañado el dicho Antonio Perez en el modo y cantela, con que le obligò a que se hiciesse." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† See the letter of the Marquis to Perez, January 26, 1579, in the *Relaciones*, p. 20—22. He says to him:—"Llevò gran desgusto de todo, y solo consuelo aver huydo el rostro con my ausencia al odio, que la corte mi tiene. Y crea vuestras merced que no està para sufrirla ningun hombre de bien."

Cardinal Granvelle, our very dear and good friend . . . though I have always desired to have you near me, on account of the value I set upon your person, and the useful assistance that you would have given me in certain affairs, circumstances have been such, that they have prevented the fulfilment of my wishes. But now that these circumstances have altered, and I am in still greater need of you and of your aid to conduct and manage affairs, to which you could apply your prudence and experience, I have resolved, in consequence of my confidence in you, and the affection and zeal with which you have always served me, to entrust you with this duty about my person. I pray you then, and command you to prepare, without delay, to depart for Genoa, where it would give me pleasure to see you were able to join the galleys of Jean André (Doria), before the change of the season, because I desire and stand in need of your speedy arrival.* I request also, and I shall consider

* “. . . . Viendo agora que no embaraçan las ocasiones como hasta aqui, y que yo tengo mas necesidad de vuestra persona y de que me ayudeys al trabajo y cuydado de los negocios pues lo sabreys tambien hazer con vuestra mucha prudencia y experiencia, me he resuelto, por la confiança que hago de vos y del amor y zelo conque siempre me aveys servido de llamaros y encargaros que tomays este trabajo por mi servicio, y asi os ruego y encargo mucho, que sin ninguna dilacion os dispongais luego y partais para Genua porque holgaria mucho que alcançasedes las galeras de Juan Andrea, y que no os tomase ay el tiempo de la mutaçion del ayre, porque yo deseo y hé menester mucho vuestra buena venida.” This letter, still unpublished,

it a great favour if you will answer this letter with the utmost despatch, and inform me of your departure." Philip had added in his own handwriting, as if to make him feel still better the impatience of his wish, "*the sooner you arrive, the more joyful I shall be.*"*

This letter, written from Madrid, the 30th of March, just a year after the death of Escovedo, was countersigned by Antonio Perez. On receiving it, Cardinal Granvelle was surprised and almost alarmed at this return of favour. Being sixty-two years old, he was afraid, at his age †, to leave his abode at Rome, where he passed a dignified quiet life in the transaction of business, to go to Madrid to sink under the burden of too vast and too weighty a government; to expose himself in every case to the jealousy of the Spaniards, hostile to foreigners, to the intrigues of courtiers irritated at his promotion, and to the perilous friendship of a suspicious, irresolute,

will appear in volume xi. of the Collection of the Granvelle Papers, in the great *Recueil des Documents inédits* published by the Minister of Public Instruction.

* "Quanto mas presto esto fuere, tanto mas holgaré dello."

† He wrote from Rome, on 1st of May, to his friend and countryman the Prior of Belle-Fontaine in Franche-Comté: — "Et m'a pris ce commandement bien à l'impourvue; car je ne pensoye rien moins que de voyaiger maintenant, n'estant mon eage de soixante-deux ans, pour faire si long voyaige, ni pour porter la penna requise pour le conseil d'estat . . ." This letter, and the following ones, will form a part of volume xi. above alluded to.

and changeable prince. He consulted the Pope. Gregory XIII., knowing that it concerned the Holy See to have so clever and devoted a minister about Philip, at the moment of the greatest religious conflict between the Catholic and Protestant parties, advised him to accept without hesitation.*

Granvelle departed from Rome, on the 16th of May, with the intention of prudently avoiding all the dangers of the court, to keep himself, as much as possible, a stranger to the business of the home affairs of the Spanish monarchy, and to participate only in the conduct of its foreign policy. He embarked at Civita Vecchia, on board the fleet of prince Jean-André Doria, who had come to fetch him with twenty-three galleys. † Being detained a long time by adverse winds, near the mouth of the Rhone, he disembarked at Carthagená, whence he set forward to Madrid. He arrived there on the 28th of July, 1579, with Don Juan Idiaquez, whom Perez had

* Granvelle wrote, moreover, to the prior of Belle-Fontaine : — “ Le propre jour de Pâques, j'en parlai à Sa Sainteté, me trouvant bien empesché pour me resouldre en chose tant imprévue et si soudainement ; car je n'avoys ni opinion ni voulenté quelconque de sortir de Rome. Mais la lectre du roi, si expresse, et la voulenté du Pape, à qui je la montrai et me commanda d'y obéir, me feict resouldre.” — Letter written, June 19. from the galley of Prince André Doria, who had anchored at the tower of Bouc, in Provence, in consequence of bad weather.

† Letter from the same to the same, written from Rome, May 15.

kept carefully away from the office of state-secretary, as a rival to be feared; and who, informed of the tottering position of the favourite, had decided, on the advice of Granvelle himself, to go to court, and present himself before the king, without having received any instructions. *

The day of their arrival was chosen by Philip as the moment to overthrow Perez. The Princess of Eboli and Perez had, at first, refused every kind of reconciliation with Vasquez. The princess had answered the friar Diego de Chaves that a person like herself could listen to nothing of the sort with the man in question, and that the offence of which she complained did not admit of it. † Perez, on his side, had written to the king in terms of ill-disguised vexation: "that he gave him back his word that he had received from him to obtain satisfaction; that he forgave the insults that had been aimed at him, since the king was so good as to suffer also those that were practised against him; but that he entreated his Majesty to allow him to withdraw from such persecutions, by retiring with his good graces as a testimony of his fidelity, and as the only reward for his services." ‡ But the Princess of Eboli having

* Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker von Sud Europa*, Berlin, 1837, t. i. p. 191.

† "Que non era su persona para andar en tratos de amistades con persona tal, ny la offensa que se tratava lo sufria." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 79.

‡ "Que el solvata al rey la palabra de la satisfaccion de lo

become, through prudence, less implacable in her resentment, had engaged Perez to make peace with Vasquez, and he seemed decided to announce this resolution to the king on the 29th of July, when, in the evening of the 28th, he was unexpectedly disgraced by his master. Taking his hitherto obstinate refusal of reconciliation as a pretext, Philip commanded Alvaro Garcia of Toledo, the court alcade, to arrest Perez, and detain him in custody; which took place at eleven o'clock at night.* At the same hour, he ordered the Princess of Eboli to be seized, and conducted to the fortress of Pinto. † He was, in some measure, present at the arrest of the latter; for he placed himself under the portico of the church of St. Maria-Mayor, situated opposite the house of the princess, and anxiously awaited there the execution of his order. He afterwards returned home, and walked to and fro in his chamber, extremely agitated, till five o'clock in the morning. ‡

que el sabia, y perdonava sus offensas, pues el rey queria sufrir las suyas . . . con solo que le dexase retirar y apartar de tales persecuciones, con su buena gracia en señal de su fée, y en lugar de carta de bien servido." — *Relaciones*, p. 33.

* "Aquella prision tan notable y escandalosa al mundo que se hizò a 28 de Julio de l'año de 1579." Ibid. p. 34. "A las once de la noche por el alcade Alvaro Garcia de Toledo que le tujò en su casa misma." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† *Relaciones*, pp. 34. 37.

‡ Aquella noche de la prision estubò el rey en aquallas oras en Santa-Maria yglesia mayor de Madrid, en frente de la casa de la Princesa de Eboli, en un portal dissimulado á ver el

The downfall of Perez, was the end of the sway of the political party founded by the Prince of Eboli. This party, after having conducted, gently enough, the affairs of the Spanish monarchy, for more than twenty years, had lost, by turns, Ruy Gomez, its prudent and able chief, Don Juan of Austria, its young and brilliant captain, and, lastly, the Marquis de Los Velez, who had preserved for it a slight degree of consistency and authority. Such considerable losses, added to its own divisions now, ruined it entirely. It resigned its place to another party, which, urged by, and at the same time aggravating the violence of the times, cast the government of Philip into a different line of conduct. At the head of the new administration was Granvelle of Franche-Comté with the Biscayan Idiaquez, and Christoval de Maura, the Portuguese. Granvelle was far superior to the two others. Having received, on his very arrival, the presidency of the council of Italy*, and not, as

paradaro de la execucion ; y despues en su camera paseandose hasta las cinco de la mañana con harta alteracion de animo del suceso." — *Relaciones*, pp. 38, 39.

* He writes, on the 21st September, 1579, to the prior of Belle-Fontaine, that the king has "charged him with the affairs of Italy, France, Germany, and Flanders, and all that concerns the foreign affairs of these kingdoms (of Spain), with which I begged that I might not meddle, in order to escape the envy and jealousy of people here; and, besides the place I hold in his council of state, being the oldest there after the Duke of Alva, who is still detained at Uzeda, (the king) has commanded me to be his president in the council of Italy, which place was

M. Ranke believed*, that of the council of Castile, then occupied by Antonio de Pazos, subsequently given to count Barajas and afterwards to Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce, then chief of the council of finances, Granvelle directed, till his death, which took place in 1586, the foreign policy of Philip II. Idiaquez and Maura, of whom the former succeeded Perez in the intimate confidence of the king, as secretary of the *Despacho Universal*, and the latter was especially charged with the administration of the interior, became the chief counsellors of Philip, after the death of Granvelle. †

These two men were of ordinary condition and of slight capacity. Idiaquez had in his favour a rather long acquaintance with state affairs, and an extremely complying will. Maura, on the contrary, was ignorant

vacant by the decease of the late Prince of Melito, Duke of Franqueville."

* Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker von Sud Europa*, t. i. p. 191.

† "Tutto il grave peso dell' importantissimo governo di tutti li stati nelle cose di maggior portata, riposa solamente nelle spalle di due persone, Don Giov. Idiaquez e Don Christoforo de Mora. Questi due soggetti sono di stato medio, non si servono Sua Majestà di alcun di grandi per il dubbio che hà de essi, e per non li accrescere autorità maggiore. Sono di ingegno mezzano e perciò più atti a suegliar il migliore partito tra molti, che ne siano proposti, che a ritrovarne de nuovi. L'uno ch' è Don Giovanni è Biscaglino, l' altro è Portoghese. Quello hà la cura delle cose di Italia, questo di Portogallo e dell' Indie. Quello per esser stato per il mondo dà miglior sadisfazione a negotianti, questo per non esser mai uscito di Spagna è più austero e difficile, &c. . ."—CONTARINI, *Relazione*, anno 1593.

and resolute; but what he lacked in skill was, in the eyes of Philip, compensated by boldness of character.

These new ministers, to whom must be added count Chinchon, the king's favourite, transported by an extravagant religious zeal, a blind obedience, or a rash spirit of enterprise towards extreme designs and violent measures, carried the system of Philip II. to the greatest excess, and weakened the Spanish monarchy for ever, by their desire to enlarge it beyond all bounds. A price of 30,000 crowns set upon the head of the Prince of Orange, at the very arrival, and by the advice of Granvelle*; secret conspiracies

* "Tambien se podria al dicho principe (de Orange) poner talla de 30 à 40 mil escudos, a quien le matase o diese vivo, como hazen todos los potentados de Italia." A MS. letter from Granvelle to the king, Nov. 13. 1579, Philip answers upon the margin: "Bien me paresce esto de la talla." He therefore writes, Nov. 30, to his nephew, the Duke of Parma, who had commanded in the Low Countries, ever since the death of Don Juan: "In order to endeavour to get rid of such a wretched pernicious man, already condemned, and whom his doings are daily condemning still more, so criminal, and so deserving a thousand deaths, and whom we have not yet reduced, after so many means employed to do so by fair means or by foul, — let a price be set upon his head, and published everywhere, even as several princes do for cases far less important, of 30 crowns, or other monies, such as you may think fit, for the profit of him who will deliver him up dead or alive; assuring the said sum to whoever will kill him, or give him up alive; in order, either to arrive at this end, and deliver, by this means, the country from a man so pernicious, as they say; or, at least, to keep him in this fear, to the end that we may deprive him of the means of going on fearlessly with the execution of his designs."

hatched against queen Elizabeth in the absence of attacks by open force *; the invasion of Portugal entrusted to the Duke of Alva, recalled from his castle of Uzéda, where he was living in disgrace; the expedition of the famous *Invincible Armada* against England; and the formation and maintenance of the Holy League in France to take possession of that country with the aid of the Catholic faction: all these signalised the *début*, and filled up the course of this administration, which lasted till the death of Philip II.

* “Y V. Magd. no puede pretender otra cosa que embaraçar y castigar aquella muger (Queen Elizabeth), favoreciendo a la causa catholica, etc.” — Letter from Granvelle to Philip II., April 30. 1589.

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP'S ALTERNATELY SEVERE AND GUARDED CONDUCT TOWARDS PEREZ. — CONDEMNATION OF PEREZ FOR EX-TORTION. — PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE MURDER OF ESCOVEDO. — PEREZ PUT TO THE TORTURE. — HIS ESCAPE AND FLIGHT INTO ARAGON.

PEREZ remained four months in custody of Alvaro Garcia de Toledo, the court alcade. These alcades were four in number. Their civil jurisdiction comprised a circumference of five leagues from the king's palace, and their criminal jurisdiction extended throughout Castile.* Philip did not order proceedings to be taken immediately against Perez. So far from doing so, the morning after the arrest he sent the Cardinal of Toledo to visit Dona Juana Coëllo, in his name, to comfort her; to tell her that nothing of all that had just happened endangered the life or honour of her husband; and that his quarrel with Vasquez was simply the cause of his momentary

* "Quattro giudici seguono la corte que si chiamano alcadi e hanno 24 aguzini e doi segretarii del criminale e ciascuno hà tre notarii per le cose civili. De casi criminali possono conoscere per tutta la Castiglia, ma de civili cinque leghe solo discorti della corte, ne hanno alcuna apellatione." — ANTONIO TRIBOLO, anno 1571, MSS. 1203 *de la Biblioth. Roy.*, fol. 294 ro.

detention.* In the same way, too, on the 29th of July, he hastened to explain the imprisonment of the Princess of Eboli to the Duke of Infantado and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who were her near relations.† He concluded his letters by saying:—

“Seeing that, not only the Princess of Eboli did not facilitate a reconciliation between Antonio Perez and Matheo Vasquez, as was expedient for my service, but that she retarded its accomplishment, I have been obliged to order her to be arrested last night and conducted to the fortress of the villa of Pinto. As you are her near relation, I wished, as was proper, to inform you of it, in order that you might understand it rightly, and know, moreover, that nobody more desires her tranquillity and freedom, the aggrandizement of her house, and the establishment of her sons. ‡

In the first fortnight of his confinement, Perez

* “Que Su Magd. le mandava, que le visitasse y dixesse que no se alterasse de la demonstracion que avia visto hazerse con su marido, que no avia en ella cosa, que poder le dar cuydado tocante a honrra ny vida, ny mas que las amistades dichas, y que se consolasse, y creyesse que avia sido, y era lo hecho por su beneficio, y por escusar mayores inconvenientes.” — *Relaciones*, pp. 39, 40.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37.

‡ “De lo qual, por ser vos tan su dendo, he querido avisar os como es razon, para que lo tengays entendido; y que nadie dessea mas su quietud o gobierno, y acrescentamiento de su casa, y collocacion de sus hijos. En Madrid a 29 Julio de 1579.” *Ibid.*, p. 37.

received a visit from the king's confessor, who said to him, as if joking: "Your malady will not be mortal."* At the same time Philip ordered his children to be sent to him for his consolation and amusement. But, in spite of these attentions and hopes, Perez could not bear up against a change of fortune. His loss of favour and his humiliating captivity, with the impossibility of revenge and the dispiriting lassitude of inaction, overwhelmed his proud and ardent spirit. He fell ill. Philip then allowed him to be removed from the house of Garcia de Toledo, the alcade, to his own †; where, six days afterwards, Don Rodrigo Manuel, the captain of his guards, came, in his name, to demand of Perez the formal engagement — to renounce all enmity towards Matheo Vasquez, and never to do him any harm himself, or by his relations or friends. Perez gave his promise.‡ The cause of his detention removed, his confinement seemed justly at an end. Doubtless, it would have been so, if Philip had had but this one grievance against him, as he affected to say. But he entertained other resentments, and had other designs, the execution of which he knew how to effect.

Perez was detained eight months in close custody

* "Assegurandole que aquella enfermedad no seria, como dizen, de muerte." — *Relaciones*, p. 40.

† "De casa del alcade de corte le llevaron a su posada por aver caydo malo." — *Relaciones*, p. 41. and *Proceso*, MSS.

‡ *Relaciones*, p. 41.

in his own house. At the end of that time the guards were withdrawn, and he was permitted to go out for a walk and to attend mass. He might also receive, but not pay, visits.*

During these transactions, Philip repaired, in the summer of 1580, to Portugal, to make himself master of that kingdom. The Cardinal-king Henry, the last legitimate male descendant of the Burgundian dynasty, which had founded the Portuguese monarchy, had died some months before, and Philip had presented himself as his legal successor, by right of his mother Elizabeth, king Henry's sister, and the eldest daughter of king Emanuel. He had for his competitor the prior Don Antonio de Crato, a natural son of the Infant Don Louis, who had already caused himself to be proclaimed king, and whom the Duke of Alva, at the head of a Spanish army, defeated at Alcantara and drove out of Portugal. Whilst Philip was subduing this kingdom and uniting the whole peninsula under his sway, Perez neglected no means to recover his entire liberty and former position. With this view he had successively sent to the king an austere monk, named father Rengipho †, and his own

* "Estuvo Antonio Perez en su casa preso seys o ocho meses con guardas. Al cabo dellos le fueron quitadas, y quedò con libertad de salir a missa, y passearse, ye de ser visitado, pero con que el no visitasse à nadie." — *Relaciones*, p. 41. and *Proceso*, MSS.

† "Embiò à un grave religioso (el padre Rengipho) à Lisboa

wife, Dona Juana Coëllo, though she was eight months gone with child *; but Philip persisted in the equivocal conduct which he had adopted towards him. Hearing that Dona Juana Coëllo was approaching Lisbon, he ordered Tejada, the alcade, to go and arrest her. The latter executed his command rigorously, in the open day, between Aldea Galleja and Lisbon, in presence of a crowd of persons, which had such an effect upon the wife of Perez, that she miscarried.† The alcade, after having questioned her, returned with her answers to the king; who, with new inconsistency, threw them into the fire without reading them, and, without saying a word, burned them before the face of the stupified alcade, who felt a nervous shudder and silent dread at this unaccountable scene.‡ Philip, through the medium of father Rengipho, requested Dona Juana Coëllo to return home, assuring her, upon his word, as a king

a saber del rey que mandava, y a pedirle que tomasse alguna resolucion." — *Relaciones*, p. 42.

* "Fue presa en medio de la preñada de 8 meses." Ibid. p. 43.

† "Mal pario alli en la mar con el alboroto, y aficcion de tal rigor." Ibid., p. 43.

‡ "El rey, en lugar de las gracias que el alcalde esperaba, omò el proceso, y sin bolver el rostro al alcalde le echò en el fuego, y le dexò quemar sin dezirle palabra . . . y aun añadia al alcalde que de alli quedava un espanto y un enmudamiento para no atreverse a hablar ni a tomar tino en las cosas de Antonio Perez." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 33, 34.

and a knight, that, as soon as he arrived at Madrid, he would give orders to despatch her husband's affair.*

Nothing of the kind was done. Moreover, Perez, in spite of the warnings of misfortune, knew not how to behave with a modesty and prudence suitable to his position. Although half at liberty and half a prisoner, he led the same sort of life as before. He was excessively extravagant, had, during the winter of 1581, a tapestried box at the theatre †, and played at his house, with the high-admiral of Castile, the Marquis d'Auñon, Don Antonio de la Cerda, Octaviano Gonzaga, and other grandees of the court such high game, that the first hand was 4 doubloons the stakes and 20 doubloons the game.‡ Accordingly, his enemies seized this opportunity to induce Philip to institute an inquiry into his fidelity and integrity as a minister. The king, by a verbal order, entrusted the matter to Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce,

* Relaciones, p. 44.

† "Y que todo el invierno passado de 1581 tubò un aposento en las comedias aderezado con tapices y sillas que le costaba cada dia treinta reales." — *Proceso*, MSS. Deposition of Don Fernando de Solis.

‡ "Y tambien refriò el gran juego que tenia en su casa, que era à la primera de veinte doblones de saca y quatro de posta, y que los que alli jugaban, eran el almirante de Castilla, el marques d'Auñon, Don Antonio de la Cerda, Octaviano Gonzaga, y otros; y despues las mas veces cenaban con grande obstentacion de platos y vianda." *Ibid.*, MSS.

president of the council of finances, who set about it secretly.*

The result of this first inquiry was very disadvantageous to Perez; his corruption was evident. Rodrigo Vasquez took the deposition of the following considerable persons, all worthy of credit: Louis de Overa, knight of St. James; Don Juan Gaetan, major-domo to the Archduke Albert; Count Fuensalida, Don Pedro de Velasco, captain of the king's Spanish guard; Don Fernando de Solis, and Don Rodrigo de Castro, the Archbishop of Seville. The venality of Perez, his extravagant luxury, and his close intimacy with the Princess of Eboli were made manifest by their depositions. It was proved that his father, Gonzalo Perez, had left him nothing at his death †, and that he possessed a fortune and an establishment out of all proportion with the emoluments of his office. "He has displayed more pomp," says Count de Fuensalida, "than any grandee of Spain; he has so many valets in his service, that, on the days when he did not dine at court, they served him with as much ostentation of lacqueys and silver plate as if he enjoyed an income of a thousand *contos*

* "Se procediò de oficio y con secreto, y con comission vocal del rey, y no por escrito a Rodrigo Vasquez." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "A este testigo dixò Antonio Perez que quando muriò su padre, quedò tan pobre, que con vender la casa que havia labrado non alcanzaba a las deudas con mas de 60 ducados, si Su Magd. no le hacia alguna merced." *Ibid.*

(millions). . . . One day, going to Toledo, I met him, at Torrejon, with coaches, carriages, and litters, and accompanied by numerous followers, on foot and horseback." * Don Pedro de Velasco, captain of the Spanish guard, says that Perez had had his chamber furnished like the king's; he estimated his household furniture at 140,000 ducats (the intrinsic value of the ducat being 8 francs 94 centimes †), and asserted that his income was as much. ‡ The Archbishop of Seville with more moderation, reckoned his annual expenditure at from 15,000 to 20,000 ducats §; and even this was enormous. To amass this fortune, support this establishment, maintain this luxury, and gamble

* "Dixò que se ha tratado en hacimiento y grandeza de su casa y persona mas esplendidamente que ningun grande de España, y que tenia tantos criados para su servicio que el dia que no comia en estado, le traian la comida con tantos criados y plata, como si tubiera mill quentos de renta: y demas de esto ha entendido que tiene veinte o treinta cavallos: y yendo este testigo à Toledo, le encontrò en Torrejon con coche, carroza, y litera y muchos criados a cavallo y a pie, que le acompañaban"—*Proceso*, MSS. Deposition of Count Fuensalida.

† About 7*s.* 2*d.* in English money; and his income more than 50,000*l.*—Trans.

‡ "Y oïd decir que la cama, en que dormia, la mandò hacer como la de Su Magd. . . . y que tiene por cierto, por lo que ha visto, y le ha dicho Don Alonzo de Sotomayor, primo de la muger de Antonio Perez, que vale su recamera y mueble mas de 140 d. ducados, y que de renta se ha alabado el mismo." *Ibid.*, Deposition of Don Pedro de Velasco.

§ "Y que le parece que seria gasto de quince, ô veinte mill ducados cada año." *Ibid.*, Deposition of Don Rodrigo de Castro, Archbishop of Seville.

to such an extent, Perez had abused his position and sold his favour. Louis de Overa deposed, that he himself had given Perez 4000 ducats for the commission of commander of the Italian infantry, granted to Pierre de Medicis; that André Doria gave him annually a considerable gratuity, that he might support his interests with the king; that the princes of Italy*, and all those who aspired to any thing in Spain, acted with the same generosity towards him, and made him presents, that he might favour them; and that he had heard several Italians say, they would rather give Perez what they had to spend in that court, in the pursuit of their pretensions, than remain there a long time doing nothing, considering themselves very lucky in knowing the means to succeed.†

This inquiry, begun in the month of May, 1582, was followed by no immediate result. The following year, two men who had enjoyed the entire confidence

* "Quando Su Magd. hizò merced a Don Pedro de Medices del cargo de la infanteria Italiana, esse testigo diò al dicho Ant. Perez 4 d. ducados por el despacho. . . Y dixò mas que Andrea de Oria le daba cada año un buen donativo, porque esforzasse sus negocios con Su Magd., y que esto mismo se lo dixò Juan Andrea de Oria, &c." — *Proceso*, MSS., Deposition of Louis de Overa.

† "Y que oyò decir a algunos Italianos que mas querian dar a Antonio Perez lo que avian de gastar en esta corte en sus pretenciones, que non estar mucho tiempo en ella sin negociar, de que iban muy contentos, sabiendo este camino." *Ibid.*

of Perez died suddenly: one was Pedro de la Era, the astrologer, whom he often took with him, and consulted about the future events of his life and the casualties of his fortune; the other was Rodrigo Morgado, his esquire, who had carried messages from him to the Princess of Eboli, had been a witness of their private interviews, and was acquainted with the violent scenes that had followed between the princess and Escovedo on account of Perez — scenes to which he attributed the tragical end of Escovedo. The astrologer's brother * and the brother of the esquire

* This man, after having related that the alcade Alvaro Garcia de Toledo, had notified to his brother, Don Pedro de la Era, not to leave the court without permission, on account of his connection with Perez, and that Pedro de la Era, having afterwards dined with Perez, had fallen ill, Perez having given him a certain powder which he pretended to be some mineral bezoar, good for the stomach, adds, that on the eighth day, Perez came to see him, and he continues thus: "Le fue a ver el dicho Ant. Perez, a cinco de Noviembre del año de 1583, at anochecer, y le preguntò como estaba su hermano el licenciado Pedro de la Era, y le dixò que le congoxaban mucho unas fuentes, y Perez le ofreciò una quinta essencia para ellas maravillosa con otros polvos, y diò a Diego Martinez su mayordomo una llave de un escritorio, para que fuesse por ellos, y los truxo contra la voluntad del dicho Pedro de la Era, y por fuerza se la hicieron tomar, tapandole las narices: y era tan fuerte la bebida, que unas gotas, que cayeron sobre un paño, le quemaron, y mancharon; y al punto el dicho Pedro de la Era su hermano perdiò el habla, y sentido, sin que volviesse en si aunque le dieron garrotes, y le hicieron muchos remedios, hasta que espirò a las doce de noche." — *Proceso*, MSS. Deposition of Bartolomé de la Era.

believed they had been poisoned by Perez, in order that they might not reveal what they knew about him.* The accomplices in the murder of Escovedo disappeared just like the depositaries of the secrets of Perez. Insausti did not long enjoy the rank of ensign that had been given him as a recompense for his participation in that murder. He died in Sicily, a short time after his arrival.† Miguel Bosque, brother to the ensign Antonio Enriquez, suffered the same fate in Catalonia. Antonio Enriquez, attributing his brother's death to Perez ‡, and fearing lest the same lot awaited himself §, resolved, through

* Andrés de Mogado asserted that, his brother having fallen ill at Valladolid, where he was employed by Perez, the latter sent to him his steward Don Balthazar de Alamos: "Y sabido por Ant. Perez, asi como acabò de morir, embiò por la posta a Don Balthazar de Alamos, y le hallò mejor, y de alli a media hora quedo sin habla el dicho su hermano, por donde se sospecha que le diò de la misma quinta essencia, que a Pedro de la Era. . . Y que tiene por cierto que Ant. Perez los matò, por que no se descubriese lo que sabian de el por aver fiado dellos algunas cosas."—*Proceso*, MSS., Deposition of Andrés Morgado.

† "Y luego que el alferes Insausti llegò a Sicilia murió." — *Proceso*, MSS., Deposition of Antonio Enriquez. "Y que el Insausti fue encaminado a Marco Antonio Colona, para que lo despachasse; y oïd a parentes suyos que alla le avian muerto, porque no parlasse." *Ibid.*, Deposition of Martin Gutierrez.

‡ "Y por aver visto que me han ahogado un hermano el qual me llama a venganza." — *Carta del Alferes Antonio Enriquez para Su Magestad*. *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

animosity and the entreaties of Captain Don Pedro de Quintana, a near relation of Escovedo's*, to reveal how, and by whose order, Don Juan's secretary had been killed five years before. On the 23d of June, 1584, he wrote from Saragossa to Philip II.†, to ask him for a safe conduct, undertaking to prove, before a tribunal, and consenting to be hung by one foot as a traitor, if he was unsuccessful, that Secretary Antonio Perez had ordered Escovedo to be assassinated. Having heard that an ensign named Chinchilla had arrived at Saragossa with designs against his person and a letter of recommendation for the Duke of Villa-Hermosa, viceroy of Aragon, he fled to Lerida, whence he addressed, on the 16th of August, another letter to Philip, more pressing than the former.‡ At the same time, Captain Quintana wrote to the king: "I very humbly beseech your Majesty to deign, in consideration of the numerous services of the late Secretary Escovedo, to order that, within a space of time that may appear suitable to your Majesty, proceedings be taken to give us the justice we expect against Antonio Perez, since the crime is now unquestionable. I shall consider myself thus sufficiently rewarded for the twenty years I have served your Majesty in war; since, not con-

* Carta del Alférez Antonio Enriquez, &c. Proceso, MSS.

† "Y como escribi à V. M. en la otra mia de los 23 de Junio." Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

tented with what he has already done, the said Antonio Perez wants also to put to death Don Pedro Escovedo and Ensign Enriquez, in order that every thing may remain stifled and buried in obscurity." *

Philip did not yet allow the investigation into the death of Escovedo to be continued. But he then chastised Perez more severely than at first. At the end of the inquiry for corruption, called *visita* in Castile, he had him condemned on the 23d of January, 1585, to the following sentence: "Don Thomas Salazar, licenciado, of his majesty's council for the holy general inquisition, commissioner-general of the *Cruzade*, &c., whereas his Majesty, desirous of knowing and being well acquainted with the manner in which his secretaries of the crown of Castile have served him, and also with what fidelity, integrity, and zeal they and their officers had behaved in the exercise of their ministries and offices, has ordered that they should undergo *the visit*, and has commissioned us for this purpose; we have made divers

* "Supplico à V. Magd. humildemente sea servido, en consideracion de los muchos servicios que el Secretario Escovedo le ha hecho el muerto, que con la brevedad que a V. Magd. le paresca conveniente proceda con la justicia, que esperamos de V. Magd. contra el dicho Antonio Perez, pues el delito esta descubierto: que con esso me daré por bien remunerado de 20 años que ha que servo à V. Magd. en la guerra: pues aun non contento el dicho Antonio Perez con lo hecho, intenta matar a Don Pedro Escobedo y al Alférez Enriquez, porque se borre todo y no se aclare." — *Proceso*. MSS.

preliminary verifications and prosecutions, in consequence of which we have thought it right to notify to some among them the facts which impeached them, which notification having been made, we have heard them in their justification; moreover, the proceedings of *the visit* being thus terminated, his Majesty has resolved to appoint, and has, in fact, appointed judges to the end that we may all conjointly examine and review the said proceedings, and give a decision according to justice.

“ Now, having thus considered the charges against Antonio Perez, secretary of state, and his justifications, the said Perez, after advice with his Majesty, has been condemned to be confined and detained in any fortress it may please his Majesty to designate, for the space of two years or more, according to the king’s pleasure; to be formally banished from court, which he shall not approach nearer than thirty leagues during ten years, and to be, for the same period, suspended from his functions; both penalties remaining, moreover, at the discretion of his Majesty and his successors. In the said banishment shall be included the time of his confinement and detention in the fortress, and, in case of infraction, the penalty shall be doubled. Besides which, and within the space of the first nine days, he shall pay, render, and restore 12,224,793 maravedis*, in the form and manner

* The maravedis was worth rather more than a French cen-

following, namely, 2,070,385 received by him and entrusted to him at Naples on account of the lady Dona Anna de Mendoza and de la Cerda, Princess of Eboli, saye the right he may have to receive from the said princess a certain tribute which he affirms to belong to him and to be imposed upon her estates; *item*, eight new counterpanes, embroidered with gold and silver upon crimson velvet, received from the said princess, such and as good as when they were given to him, unless he prefer to pay 300 ducats for each of them, a reservation being made for the said Perez to have recourse against the said princess for the compensation which he pretends to have given for them; *item*, two diamonds of great value which, it seems, he received from the said princess, unless he pay 2000 ducats in exchange; *item*, four pieces of silver plate, proceeding from the sale of count de Galvez's effects, and which he received from the said princess, such and as good as when they were given to him, unless he pay 44,370 maravedis for them; *item*, a ring set with a garnet, which he received from the said princess, unless he pay 198,750 maravedis for it; in order that all the above-mentioned sums and objects be restored and given up to the children and heirs of Prince Ruy Gomez, or, by them, to whomsoever they may belong; *item*, a silver brazier, which he received from

time; four maravedis had the intrinsic value of five centimes, or one English half-penny.

his most serene Lordship Don Juan of Austria, such and as good as when it was given him, unless he pay 700 ducats in exchange; and for divers other charges and transgressions, resulting from the inquiry and established by it, the sum of 7,371,098 maravedis, the whole to be paid to the chamber and treasury of his Majesty.”*

Perez complains bitterly of this sentence, without, however, justifying himself in regard to the facts imputed to him; for he confines himself, in his *Relaciones*, to proving the validity of a gift for which he was not prosecuted, and which does not figure in the condemnation.† Three days before it was brought to him, and to prevent his evading it, Alvaro Garcia de Toledo and Espinosa, the two alcaides, presented themselves in the house where he lived half a prisoner, and which was almost adjoining the church of St. Just. Espinosa entered the cabinet where his papers were kept, in order to seize them; and Alvaro Garcia de Toledo ascended to a large saloon where Perez was in company with Dona Juana Coëllo.‡ He apprised him of his instructions, and arrested him.

*. “Applicado todo por la camera y fisco de Su Magd.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

† *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 45—52.

‡ “El dia 20 de Henero del ano 1585, como da fee de ello Gaspar de Lopez, escribano del crimen prendieron a Antonio Perez . . . los alcaides Alvaro Garcia de Toledo y

Perez instantly conceived the design of placing himself under the protection of ecclesiastical justice ; and adroitly sent one of his servants to consult the Cardinal of Toledo upon this subject. In awaiting his return, he amused the alcade. The cardinal having approved of his project, and the servant whom he had despatched to him having made Perez understand so by a sign, even in presence of the alcade, who had no suspicion *, Perez told him he would be back in a moment, and stepped into the next room, the window of which commanded a view of St. Just. He descended by this window, which was only 8 or 9 feet from the ground, and took refuge in the church, which they immediately shut. The alcades ran after him, and had the doors burst open with a crowbar, as they would not open them.† They

Hespinosa; y se concertaron que el alcade Hespinosa se quedasse en el patio de la casa donde vivia Antonio Perez, adonde estaban los papeles, y los tomasse; y el alcalde Albaro Garcia de Toledo subiesse arriba, y prendiesse al dicho, que era junto a San-Justo en las casas del cordon que son del conde de Puñonrostro. Y aviendo llegado a la casa, el dicho Alcalde Hespinosa entrò en el escritorio donde estaban los papeles; y el dicho Alcalde Albaro Garcia de Toledo, subiò arriba a prender a Antonio Perez y le hallò con Donna Juana Coëllo su muger en una sala grande que tenia una chimenea; y le prendiò." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Y lo bueno fue, que adelante del alcalde con una señal le declaró el criado el parescer del cardenal, y diestramente dexò al alcalde, y lo executò." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 59—60.

† "Y junto a ella avia una pieza que tenia una ventana a

hunted about a long time for Perez, whom they ultimately discovered in the top of the church, where he had squeezed himself under the very roof, and whence they dragged him out covered with dust and cobwebs.* In spite of the protestations and the resistance of the priests, they had him transported by their alguazils to their carriage, which conveyed him to the fortress of Turruegano. †

The business did not end there. A long conflict ensued between the ecclesiastical and lay jurisdictions. The ecclesiastical *fiscal* denounced the two alcaldes as having violated the immunities of the Church, and caused them to be successively condemned by the tribunal of the vicar-general, and by that of the *nunciature*, to replace the prisoner in St. Just. ‡ But Philip, by the violence of his conduct, obliged the ecclesiastical judges to abandon their cause; and,

San-Justo no muy alta del suelo como estado y medio y el dicho Antonio Perez, se entrò en la pieza, y dixò al alcalde que luego salia, y se hechò por la ventana, y se entrò en San-Justo; y el alcalde diò voces, diciendo que Antonio Perez se le huia; y luego los dichos alcaldes fueron a Santo-Justo, y estaban cerradas las puertas, y con una palanca las abrieron.”—*Proceso, MSS.*

* “Y andubieron buscandole, y no lo pudieron hallar; y subieron a los desvanes de los tejados de la yglesia, y le toparon escondido en un desvan, y le sacaron todo lleno de telaranos.”—*Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ “Y diò el vicario carta de censuras contra dichos alcaldes para dentro de otra dia, que le volviessen à la yglesia.” *Ibid.*

in 1589, had the judgment, pronounced against his alcades, annulled by the council of Castile.*

Perez, foiled in his endeavour to take refuge under the jurisdiction of the Church, tried, in the summer of 1585, to have recourse to the independent jurisdiction of Aragon. Juan de Mesa, who had had a hand in murdering Escovedo, came from a distant part of Aragon and penetrated as far as the fortress of Turruegano, in order to carry him off, with two mules shod with their shoes reversed.† But this project of escape, although adroitly planned by Don Balthazar de Alamos‡, was discovered and foiled; and Perez was still more closely guarded. In order even to compel him to deliver up the papers he had

* "Y se quedò asi hasta que fue apelado el ano 1589 que a 6 de Julio el consejo real mandò que el juez apostolico no conociesse del negocio, y replica: y de por nullo todo lo hecho; y abra las censuras, y absuelva a los notificados; y le mandaron al dicho juez saliesse dentro de segunda dia de la Corte." Ibid. "En esso hubo otra violencia mayor que prendieron despues a los juezes del nuncio de su sanct. con amenazas grandes, sino alçavan la mano de la causa." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 60.

† "En el mesde mayo de 1585 quando se publicò, que se avia querido huir el Secretario Antonio Perez de la fortaleza de Turruegano, donde estaba presso, el declarante . . . topò Juan de Mesa en unos olivares fuera del camino, quemado del sol: y no le respondiò de adonde venia y traia consigo a unos parientes de Antonio Martinez y dos yeguas . . . herradas al rebes." — *Proceso*, MSS., Deposition of Martin Gutierrez.

‡ Balthazar de Alamos was condemned to six years' banishment for that attempt. Ibid.

secreted, and which might justify him by accusing the king, they imprisoned also his wife and children. They threatened Dona Juana Coëllo with perpetual confinement, and a few ounces of bread a day, if she did not give up the papers demanded. The king's confessor and the new president of Castile, Count de Barajas, pursued her on this subject with entreaties and threats. She would have refused with heroic fortitude thus to forego her husband's means of justification, if the latter had not commanded her to do so in a note written with his own hand and with his blood.* After having long resisted, Perez, at last, consented to put an end to the captivity of his wife, and to soften his own.† Two trunks locked and sealed, containing the papers so eagerly desired, were carried to the confessor, who, without opening them, immediately sent the keys to the king.‡ This precious deposit was received with so much the more joy, as the

* See, for all these details, the *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 61—62. "Dona Juana con el valor que ha mostrado al mundo en el discurso de los trabajos de su marido, y suyos . . . dexara de entregar los tales papeles pues en el tal entrego faltava a la ley divina y humana . . . sino fuera porque el marido le escrivio, y ordenò que los entregasse por villetes escritos de su mano y sangre," p. 62.

† *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 62.

‡ "Pues mas passò, que recibio el confessor los dos baules cerrados y sellados como se los embiava Dona Julia sin abrirlos, ny ver loque le entregavan . . . no quisò recibir las llaves de los baules el confessor, sino que ordenò al criado, que se los avia entregado, que luego fuesse el mismo à darlas al rey en sus manos." *Ibid.*, p. 63.

master thought he had deprived the servant at once of the means of accusing him and of defending himself. But Perez, as cunning as Philip, had managed, by the help of faithful and intelligent hands*, to abstract from the papers he delivered the most important pieces for his justification, and many notes in the king's handwriting, which he produced at a later period before the courts of Aragon.

Towards the end of the year 1587, when the papers had been given up, the captivity of Perez was less severe. After two years of rigorous imprisonment, he had fallen ill at Turruegano, and Dona Juana obtained permission to have him removed to Madrid, where he enjoyed again, for fourteen months, a sort of half freedom in one of the best houses of the town, and received visits from the whole court.† They even granted him permission to attend mass, during the holy week, at Nôtre-Dame d'Atocha. During this time, Don Pedro Escovedo was, on his side, detained a prisoner. He had been deprived of

* The papers were sorted and delivered by the aid of Diego Martinez. "Fue le preguntado, que papeles y escrituras tenian en aquellos baules que llevò al confessor del rey? Dixò que no lo sabia; mas que su ama Dona Juana Coëllo se los mandò llevar a buen recado." — *Proceso*, MSS. Confession of Diego Martinez.

† "Traydo a la corte a una de las mejores casas de Madrid. Allí estuvo catorze meses medio preso. Visitavale libremente casi toda la corte, grandes senores, y de todos grados de ministros." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 65.

his post in the council of finances, and put in prison, because he complained of a refusal of justice, and was suspected of having an intention of assassinating Perez. The contradictory treatment practised towards the latter astonished his enemies, and Rodrigo Vasquez, questioned upon this subject by Don Francisco de Fonseca, replied: "I know not what to say. Sometimes the king urges me on, and lends me a hand; then, again, he withdraws it, and stops me. I can make nothing of it, and cannot penetrate what kind of mysterious pledge there must be between the king and his subject." *

But the proceedings relative to the murder of Escovedo had been mysteriously continued during the summer of 1585. Philip having gone to preside at the Cortes of Aragon, Rodrigo Vasquez had seized this opportunity to interrogate, on the 31st of August, at Monzon †, Antonio Enriquez, the ensign, who, a year previously, had denounced himself as an accomplice in the assassination of Escovedo, and offered to relate the details and reveal the authors of it. Then it was that this former page of Perez made

* Rodrigo Vasquez dixò a Don Francisco de Fonseca Señor de Coca que le hablava en el encanto de las cosas de Antonio Perez: *Señor, que quereys que os diga?* Que unas vezes me da priessa el rey y alarga la mano, otras espacio, y me la encoge? No lo entiendo ny alcanzo los misterios de las prendas que deve de aver entre rey y vasallo." *Relaciones*, pp. 67—68.

† Proceso, MSS.

the deposition, already mentioned, respecting the death of Escovedo. * Vasquez examined, moreover, Geronimo Diaz and Martin Guttierrez, of whom one expatiated with complacency upon the connection of Perez with the Princess of Eboli, and the other told what he knew of the flight of Escovedo's murderers into the kingdom of Aragon, and especially of his neighbour Juan de Mesa, who, after having assisted Perez to get rid of Escovedo, had tried to get him out of the fortress of Turruegano. †

Diego Martinez, the majordomo, whom Enriquez, the ensign, had designated as the man who had presided in all the plottings against the life of Escovedo, had come, in the autumn of 1587, from Aragon, his native place, to Madrid, to choose among the papers of Perez, and deliver them to the king's confessor; Vasquez had him arrested, and examined. Diego Martinez denied every thing with extreme composure, and even said that his master had been much afflicted at Escovedo's death, having been very fond of him; and that he had busied himself exceedingly in trying to discover the author of it. ‡ Perez having learned, in the fortress of Turruegano, where he still was, the arrest of his majordomo, the de-

* See p. 48, &c.

† Proceso, MSS.

‡ "Y disculpa a su amo de la muerte diciendo que le pesò mucho, por ser grande amigo suyo el Secretario Escobedo, y que hizò muchas diligencias porque se averiguasse quien le avia muerto." Ibid. Confession of Diego Martinez.

positary of all his secrets, was extremely alarmed, and, on the 20th of November, 1587, wrote to the king as follows: "Sire, in the whole course of my miseries I have endeavoured not to outstep the limits which an humble subject of your Majesty ought to respect. Although no longer anything of myself, still I am your Majesty's servant. . . . For this reason, from this bed of suffering, where I am unable to move, . . . I make choice of a faithful man, my confessor, to whom I entrust this letter, in order that your Majesty may draw from him, without further inconvenience, whatever may be useful to your Majesty's service. The incident which has happened is, that whilst Dona Juana was at Madrid to implore for my cure and life the remedy which depends on your Majesty's compassion, the alcade Espinosa has arrested Diego Martinez; for it appears that Escovedo, in order to justify the proceedings for murder, for which he is in custody, has said that he would place people in ambush to kill either Diego Martinez or any other of the servants of Antonio Perez who had assassinated his father.* Diego Martinez came to Madrid in all confidence, like an innocent man.

* "Es el caso, que estando Dona Juana en Madrid a solicitar el remedio de mi cura y de mi vida, que depende de la misericordia de V. Magd., el alcalde Espinosa ha preso a Diego Martinez, porque dicen que Escobedo en el descargo de la muerte, porque està preso, dice que el embiara aquellos hombres en busca, ò a matar a Diego Martinez, ò a otro criado de Antonio Perez, que mataron a su padre." — *Proceso*, MSS.

Now, although Dona Juana has had recourse to the president to claim Martinez, as a person belonging to us, she has gained nothing for her pains." Perez, who knew not yet that Diego Martinez had been arrested in consequence of the deposition of his old page, entreated the king not to leave him in the hands of the alcade Espinosa, who was a particular friend of the Escovedos, and to whose malicious partiality he attributed this new imprisonment. But, having afterwards been removed from Turruegano, fearful lest the fidelity of Martinez, upon which, however, he relied, might be too severely tried by putting him to the torture, and being especially unwilling that, by designed delays, Vasquez should manage to procure other witnesses, he wrote again to the king on the 3d of February, 1588: ". . . . I conjure your Majesty to order your confessor to think immediately about preventing what may happen. Since he is well acquainted with every part of this business, he will advise, better than anybody, what will be best, to avoid consequences prejudicial to the prisoner, to the service of God, and your own. A tribunal and severe judges go sometimes very far; it is not fit to expose Martinez to this danger, nor to let him run this risk. I may venture to say, that the remedy would be to restrain the judge, and, especially, not to consent to continued delays; because, if the adversaries produce a false accomplice who has safe-conduct for his misdeeds, temporizing will cause them

to find others. Every thing, on the contrary, may be prevented by despatch." *

But, in reality, Philip wished to prevent nothing. He let Rodrigo Vasquez continue his investigation. The latter confronted, in the royal prison, Diego Martinez with the ensign Antonio Enriquez, to whom they had granted a safe conduct. Diego Martinez treated Enriquez with scornful haughtiness, calling him an ungrateful servant, a suborned witness, an odious wretch, who had already committed crimes, as he was able to prove.† Between the assertions of one and the denials of the other, the judge was unable to decide. Another witness was necessary; and Vasquez looked out for one. Juan Rubio, the scullion, had returned to Aragon, where was also the apothecary ‡, who had prepared the poisoned beverage for Escovedo. But, the judges of the kingdom of Castile had no power in the kingdom

* "El juicio, y rigor de los jueces, suele ser arrojado algunas veces, y no conviene poner a Martinez en aprieto y aventura. Me atrevo a decir, que el remedio seria de tener la mano al juez; pero sobre todo no consentirle, que aya mas dilaciones en este negocio: porque si trahen un falsario complice con seguridad de sus delitos, mejor con la dilacion hallaran otros: todo se ataja con la brevedad." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "Y el dicho Diego Martinez se lo negò todo, y dixo era su enemigo capital, y sobornado del secretario Escobedo, y de sus amigos, y que era hombre facinoroso, y que tenia hechos muchos delitos, y que era testigo falso, lo qual se obligaba a probar." — *Ibid.*

‡ Juan de Mesa, in a letter of 15th Feb. 1589, informs Perez so. — *Proceso*, MSS.

of Aragon. Vasquez employed all his zeal to get the apothecary and the scullion brought before him; and Perez, informed of the danger, used all his ingenuity to prevent their appearing. He recommended them to Juan de Mesa, who managed to keep them back; but he did not the less fear that, by force or bribery, they might escape his influence, some moment or other, and thus ruin him by their testimony. He wrote, therefore, to the king, and requested him, with eloquent entreaties, to put an end to these proceedings, and restore him to his favour: "They have attempted several times," said he, "to get possession of Juan Rubio, and deliver him up to Escovedo. I have given myself a world of trouble, without annoying your Majesty with it, to have this Rubio closely watched and detained where he is by Juan de Mesa, a servant of mine, and a man of great abilities. God knows how uneasy I have been through ignorance of what had become of this Rubio, the *scullion* of whom Vasquez, who is a second *Sinon*, said, that he did not understand how it was that they had not got possession of him, and why he did not appear as well as the other.* If your Majesty do not seek, with a

* "Han procurado algunas veces coger a Juan Rubio, y entregarle a Escobedo, que es por lo que yo he tenido cuidado, sin causar à V. Magd., para que miren alla por el, y que le entretenga Juan de Mesa, que es aquel criado mio, y hombre de chapa. Y sabe dios los sustos que yo he padecido, por no

compassionate hand, a remedy for this new misfortune, I see no end to these tedious delays of Vasquez; because Escovedo takes advantage of this temporising to promote his own plans, and finds Vasquez a warm friend of whatever is contrary to justice. In the mean time, poor Martinez is sinking miserably under their attacks. By the passion of Our Lord, I entreat your Majesty a thousand times to feel sympathy in our favour, to take pity on our innocence, as well as on the fidelity and loyal services of myself, my father, and my ancestors. May your Majesty take compassion on a poor fallen servant, and be the judge who does justice to all. I say, Sire, by giving me, at least, an oar to manœuvre in your service, to the end that the world may not believe that, if I have been deprived of every thing I possessed, it was the penalty of a breach of trust of which I was never guilty. For God's sake, Sire, may your Majesty come to our aid by some proof of your bounty; we need it as much as life itself. The creature of your Majesty, Antonio Perez.*

saber del Juan Rubio, que es el picaro, y de quien decia Vasquez, que era un Sinon, porque no le huïessen cogido, ò el no se venga come estotro." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Por las llagas de Christo mill veces supplico à V. Magd., se duela de nosotros, y se apiade de nuestra innocencia, y de la fidelidad, y leales servicios de esta persona, padre y abuelos, y se duela V. Magd., de este abatido, y sea juez, y el que satisfaga al mundo. . . . Digo, Señor, con un remo si quiera de su servicio, porque no piense el mundo que tal privacion de todo lo que se poseia con tales demonstraciones, fue por infi-

Far from allowing himself to be affected by the agony and supplications of Perez, Philip handed his letter, and all those which he wrote to him at this period, to Rodrigo Vasquez, as documents for the legal proceedings.* The latter continued the preliminary examination entrusted to him, without arriving, however, at any thing more than hearsay evidence or conjectures as to the culpability of Perez. The testimony that he collected strengthened the deposition of Antonio Enriquez, but did not legally supplement it. It formed a sort of public clamour; but gave no judicial certainty. Rodrigo Vasquez, however, considered it sufficient to give a new character to the process, to withdraw it from the obscurity of the mysterious inquiry of seven years' duration, and boldly to implicate Perez. On the 21st of August, 1589, he ordered the prison which Perez occupied, in the buildings of Don Benito de Cisnero, to be visited, that he might know whether it was safe and well guarded.† Being informed tha

delidad mia, pues no la tube jamas. . . . Asi por amor de Dios, Señor, nos socorra con alguna señal de la gracia de V. Magd. que esta he menester, y vida. Hechura de V. Magd." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Todas estas cartas que escribiò Ant. Perez a Su Magd. se las entregò a Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce Su Magd., y el las pusò en el pleito." *Ibid.*

† "Y en 21 de Agosto de dicho ano de 1589, el dicho presidente Rodrigo Vasquez hizò hacer visita de la prision que tiene Ant. Perez en las casas de Don Benito de Cisneros, si es segura

apartments in which the prisoner was confined consisted of sixteen rooms, that the two alguazils, Erizo and Zamora, who had charge of his person, were unable to watch him sufficiently, that there were, in the back part, two doors that did not lock, and by which people used to come and go during the night, and that Perez had even been seen walking in the streets in broad daylight and unguarded, he requested Count de Barajas to use greater precautions.* Count de Barajas immediately ordered the doors and windows of the prison to be carefully shut, and placed a greater number of alguazils about Perez. Having taken these measures, Vasquez interrogated Perez twice respecting the murder of Escovedo, on the 23d and 25th of August, communicating to him the heavy accusations which the deposition of his old servant Enriquez brought against him and his majordomo Martinez.† Perez denied every thing, and attempted, with sufficient address and much assurance, to put them on the wrong scent concerning the

y guardada, sin puertas, ni ventanas por donde se pueda salir ni visitar su muger, ò hijos, ni otras personas."— *Proceso*, MSS.

* ". . . . Y no ha mas guardias que dos alguaziles, que son Erizo y Zamora, siendo 16 piezas las que tiene por carcel; y por la parte trasera del quarto ai dos puertas desclavadas, por donde entran y salen de noche; y veia muchas personas que venian a verle, sinque lo puedan ver los dichos alguaziles. . . . Y que le veia salir de la dicha prision con un palo en la mano al dicho Ant. Perez de dia sin prisiones ningunos." *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

true cause of the death of Escovedo.* Dona Juana Coëllo was questioned, but with no better result.† On the 25th of August, after the second examination of Perez, Vasquez pronounced a sentence verifying the crime, establishing the charges resulting from the preliminary proceedings against Perez and his major-domo, and granting them ten days to answer and defend themselves.‡ Don Pedro Escovedo then brought his complaint in form against both.§ Perez and Martinez chose their advocates; and, at the expiration of the ten days granted to them, they demanded and obtained eight more to produce their justification. || At the same time Perez, whom

* “Respondiò que Gaspar de Robles que reside en Flandès, llegò a esta corte con despachos del señor Don Juan de Austria para Su Magd., y le dixò a este declarante, que al apear se trahia orden del Señor Don Juan, de que fuesse la primera cosa que hiciesse visitar al secretario Escobedo, y le dixesse que se guardasse, que avia entendido que por cierto embarazo de amores que le avia sucedido, le querian matar.”—*Proceso* MSS. Confession of Ant. Perez.

† Ibid.

‡ “Y en dicho dia, 25 de Agosto proveyò el dicho Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce auto, en que dixò que ponía por cargo y culpa la que resultaba del proceso contra Ant. Perez y Diego Martinez, y les mandò dar traslado della y que respondiessen, y recebì el negocio a prueba de diez dias con cargo de petition y castigo.” Ibid.

§ “Y en dos del dicho mes (de Setiembre) 1589, se querellò en forma el dicho Don Pedro de Escobedo por la muerte de su padre contra el dicho Antonio Perez, y Diego Martinez, y consortes.” Ibid.

|| “Pediò ocho dias mas para hacer su descargo.” Ibid.

they had put in irons to make more sure of his person, furnished good security to have them taken off. On the 7th of September he produced six witnesses in his favour *, who declared that secretary Escovedo and Antonio Perez were intimate friends; that, at the time of the murder, Perez was at Alcala with the Marquis de Los Velez; that he seemed much afflicted by it; and that they were convinced that Antonio Enriquez was a false and suborned witness, because he had become the inseparable ally of the Escovedos. They added that Antonio Perez, for whose justification many important witnesses would have deposed, was an eminent man and a good Christian, fearing God, and injuring nobody.† The same six witnesses attested the innocence of his majordomo Martinez.‡

Notwithstanding the ill-will of his judges and the hatred of his enemies, it was difficult legally to condemn Perez, against whom existed but one positive testimony, tainted with a spirit of revenge and

* "Presentò el dicho Ant. Perez los testigos de su descargo que fueron seis: Diego de Bustamente, estudiante, Montanes, Claudia Varia, criada de D. Diego de Santoyo, Juan de Vera, vecino de Soria, Antonio Ortiz, estudiante en esta corte, y Luis de Escoriguela, contador de Su Magd., y secretario del consejo de Aragon." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "... Y que el dicho Ant. Perez es hombre principal, y secretario de estado, buen christiano, y temeroso de Dios, y sin hacer mal a nada." *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

argued to be false. Accordingly, Vasquez devoted himself to a supplementary inquiry, and wished, more than ever, to secure the attendance of the apothecary from Molina in Aragon, and the ensign Juan Rubio.* Perez, profiting by his advantages, and dreading new delays so perilous for him, earnestly demanded them to pronounce judgment and set him at liberty. During these transactions Philip's confessor once more strangely interfered. At the very moment when the proofs were insufficient against Perez, he engaged the latter to complete them by a confession. In order to persuade him he set forth the theory already stated †, upon the innocence of murders ordered by kings. "Knowing," said he, "the tribulations which you and yours have been so long suffering, I have asked myself whether I ought in Christian charity to give advice to one who does not ask it. I have at last resolved to do so; and thus I will tell you that since, in all reality and truth, you have a peremptory excuse for the deed, when once averred, you ought to confess fully what they demand of you, and thus extricate yourself from the painful position in which you are; since that alone is and has been the cause of it. Let every one afterwards answer for himself. May God preserve your

* "... Y ver si podia traer el boticario que avia destilado las hierbas, y a Juan Rubio." —*Proceso*, MSS.

† See p. 47, &c.

Lordship many years in the health and tranquillity so necessary to your family." *

Perez knew better than to follow this advice, which, under an appearance of interest and compassion, concealed a snare. He refused, and grounded his conduct even on the request of the king, who had written to him: "Do not trouble yourself about what your enemies are doing, or what I allow them to do: I will not forsake you, and be assured that their animosity will be impotent against you . . . , but you must take heed that they must not discover that the murder was committed by my order." † Perez replied, therefore, to the confessor, after having taken counsel with the Cardinal of Toledo, "That to condemn himself thus, in so serious a case, would be acting against his conscience; especially when many innocent people would be compromised by his so doing; that to reveal what the king wished to keep secret would not be taking a prudent step; that, lastly, in every respect, it would be best to come to an understanding and arrangement with Escovedo." ‡

* Proceso, MSS., and Relaciones, pp. 73—76.

† "Entre los villetes que presentó Ant. Perez en Caragoça en su descargo ay uno, en que dize el rey: *Que no le de cuidado quanto hizieran sus enemigos, ny el le dexé, que el no le faltara a el, y que se asegure que no podra la passion obrar contra el . . . y vos aveys de tener por bien que no se entienda que aquella muerte se hizò por my orden.*" — *Relaciones*, p. 70.

‡ ". . . . Que condenarse en un caso tan grave, era contra su consciencia, y mas siendo en daño de tantos innocentes, y que

Escovedo must have been so much the less averse to this, as he had not been able, in eleven years, to prove peremptorily the guilt of Perez; and seeing that if he did not succeed in getting him condemned, he was himself exposed to a severe condemnation. He had mysteriously received the following letter, which his able adversary had, doubtless, addressed to him: "As I know that, even were I to tell you my name, you are not acquainted with me, it is useless for me to write it. It is sufficient for you to know that I am your friend, and, as such, I will tell you not to annoy yourself by pursuing the business relative to your father, because you will gain nothing by it; and, if you had not been blind, you might have seen that the king does not relish your prosecution, since it is on that account that he has deprived you of your office; and, if you trespass too far, may God grant that you do not suffer the same fate as your father! I perform in this the duty of a friend. May God open your eyes! Your devoted friend who knows what he says."*

declarar lo que su rey le mandava callar no seria sano consejo . . . ; y que para todo seria mejor que el se concertasse con Escovedo." — *Relaciones*, p. 74.

* "Porque se que, aunque diga mi nombre, no me conoce, no abrà que ponerle aqui, solo entienda que soi su amigo, y como tal le digo que no se cause en seguir el 'nogocio de su padre, porque no se ha de hacer nada; y sino estubiera ciego, bien lo podia aver echado de veer que no gusta el rey que lo siga: pues por esso le ha quitado el oficio, y aun plegue à Dios

Thus, at the very moment when the confessor was suggesting to Perez, and, very likely, in the king's name, that he should confess every thing, with the intention of ruining him easily afterwards, since they believed him to be without the papers and letters that might serve to justify him, Perez made use of the king's name to give Escovedo the hint to renounce his proceedings. This the latter consented to do, in consideration of a sum of 20,000 ducats: he thus sold his right of revenge.* On the 28th of September he gave in his abandonment of the prosecution in form in the presence of Gaspar Resta, the clerk of the court.† He required of Rodrigo Vasquez, as well as of the court alcades and all other officers of justice, to cease to prosecute this cause, and also to restore Perez and Martinez to liberty; declaring that he pardoned them in order to fulfil his duty

no le suceda lo que a su padre, si passa adelante con su porfia: y con esto cumplo con la amistad que le debo. Dios le abra los ojos, y la guarde. Su mayor amigo quien sabe." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Se concertò Ant. Perez con Pedro Escovedo en 20 mill ducados." — *Relaciones*, p. 79.

† "La escritura de apartamento se otorgò en 28 de Setiembre de 1589 ante el dicho Gaspar Resta escribano, y fue con todas sus fuerzas otorgada, pidiendo al rey nuestro señor, y al presidente Rodrigo Vasquez y alcaldes de corte, y otras quales quiera justicias no consiessen mas de la causa contra Ant. Perez, y le suelten libre a el, y a Diego Martinez . . . porque a todos los perdonaba, por hacer servicio a Dios, quitarse de pleitos, y diferencias y averse lo pedido personas graves que se han interpuesto." — *Proceso*, MSS.

towards God, and to terminate this difference between them, having been entreated to do so by important persons. These important persons were the Admiral of Castile, Don Luis Enriquez de Cabrera, the Duke of Medina de Rio Seco, and Count de Modica, Don Rodrigo Zapata, commander of Monte-Alegre of the order of St. Jacques and son of Count de Barajas, president of the council of Castile, Don Alonzo de Campo, and Jacome Mazengo*, who signed Escovedo's act of relinquishment, confirmed by him on the 2nd of October, 1589.†

Philip's confessor not having been able to induce Perez to confess that he had persisted in advising, had, however, as a last resource, approved of his reconciliation with Escovedo. "The other expedient which you mentioned to me," said he, "that of arranging the matter with Escovedo, is not bad; and it might be employed without making any mention of the king, who has an aversion for that man, both on his father's account and on his own."‡ But this conclusion did not satisfy the scruples or the hatred of Rodrigo Vasquez. Instead of granting Perez his freedom, which he claimed more earnestly than ever,

* Proceso, MSS.

† Ibid.

‡ "El otro camino que vuestra merced dice de amistad con Escobedo me parece bien: y esto avia de ser, sin meter en ello a Su Magd., pues està con el disgustado, por las ocasiones que vuestra merced sabe de su padre, y suyas tan graves."—*Relaciones*, p. 78., and *Proceso*, MSS.

Vasquez wrote to Philip, "That Perez thought to get clear of the business by compromising it with Escovedo; but, that the king ought to consider that many rumours had been afloat respecting the order he had issued for the commission of this murder; that now it behoved his authority to appear, and to command Perez to declare their reasons for inflicting this chastisement*;" and he added: "They give Perez to understand, Sire, that the murder is not proved by the process, though it is sufficiently so for me, if I were judge; let your Majesty write me, therefore, a note that I may show, and in which you will say: 'Tell Perez that he knows how I ordered him to have Escovedo killed for motives which he knows right well, and which it is expedient for my service that he should declare.'" †

Hearing of this inconceivable project, the Cardinal of Toledo went to the king's confessor, and said to

* "Que ya que Ant. Perez se librava, por el concierto con Escobedo de la muerte de su padre, mirasse Su Magd. que avia corrido mucho aver se cometido aquella muerte por orden suys, y que a su auctoridad convenia descubrirse ya, y mandar a Ant. Perez, que declarasse las cosas, y motivos, que huvo para hazerse aquel castigo." — *Relaciones*, p. 80.

† "Dase, Señor, a entender a Ant. Perez que no esta provada la muerte por el proceso (aunque para mi bastasse si huviere de ser juez). V. M. me escriba un villete, que yo se le pueda mostrar diciendo, Dezid a Ant. Perez que ya sabe, como yo le mande que hiziesse matar a Escovedo por las cosas que el tiene entendidas, que à mi servicio conviene, que las declare." *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

him: "Sir, either I am mad, or this business is devoid of common sense. If it be the king who ordered, and confesses he has ordered Perez to put Escovedo to death, of what, and of what motives can they ask him to give an account? The more we reflect the more plainly we shall see that Perez was not the judge in this act, but only the secretary and reporter of the despatches that came into his hands; after which he was the executor of what was ordered and entrusted as from friend to friend. And it is now, after twelve years, that he is asked to recapitulate the motives, after the seizure of his papers and the death of so many persons who might know and attest so many things! Bring to life five hundred dead people; restore him his papers unexamined and unread, and even then you will not have the right to do what you are doing."*

What appeared foolish to the Cardinal of Toledo was truly so; but for many other reasons of a different nature. What! Philip had commanded the murder; the murderer and the son of the victim were

* "Señor, ò yo soy loco, ò este negocio es loco. Si el rey le mandò a Ant. Perez que hiziesse matar a Escobedo, y el lo confiessa, que quenta le pide, ny que cosas? Mirara los entonces, y el lo viera, que estotro no era juez en aquel acto, secretario y relatore de los despachos que le venian a las manos, y executor de lo que le mandò, y encargò como un amigo a otro, etc. . . . Resuscitenle quinientos muertos, restituyan le sus papeles sin aver los rebuelto, y releydo, y aun entonces no se puede hazer tal." — *Relaciones*, pp. 82, 83.

arranging the matter between themselves; he was able to terminate the process, the annoying duration of which had several times alarmed him, and the scandalous celebrity of which would compromise him; and yet he did not hasten to restore Perez to liberty, and to hush up at length so dangerous an affair? What interest could he have to confess that he had given the order for an assassination, and to punish him who had executed it? It was neither the honour of royalty, which must have suffered by such a confession, nor care for his reputation, on which he would necessarily inflict a twofold injury by betraying his accomplice after having caused him to murder one of his subjects. There was then no other explanation of this act but the blindness of passion and the thirst of revenge. The confession of the crime demanded of Perez, first by the confessor and afterwards by Rodrigo Vasquez, could not have been demanded with any other intention. Philip hoped doubtless, that Perez, deprived of his papers, was unable to furnish the proof of the motives to which he attributed the murder of Escovedo; that he would easily be condemned as having deceived or calumniated his master; and that his death would give to this affair a termination to him more satisfactory than impunity;—an abominable plot, which well nigh involved and destroyed the guilty but unfortunate Perez.

In fine, we read in the manuscript process the following act, drawn up by Rodrigo Vasquez on the

21st of December, 1589: "Having rendered an account to the king our master that, in what concerns the murder of secretary Juan Escovedo, Antonio Perez appeared to have acted only according to the will and with the consent of his Majesty; and that it seemed fit that this consent should be stated in the process to aid the discharge of the said Perez; and that he may be, in consequence, acquitted upon all points conformably to justice; as also, that it would be necessary to make known the causes of the said consent, to the end that the honour of the prince and his quality of a good Christian remain unimpaired; his Majesty has given his approval, and has ordered that it be known, from the mouth of the said Perez, what were the said causes; since it is he who knows them and imparted them to his Majesty, and, altogether, the proofs furnished by him of the force and urgency of the motives for that death." * By a precaution intended to cover the king, though securing his revenge, it was added: "As to the question whether this declaration of Perez should or not be joined to the process, his Majesty has reserved for

* "Auto aviendo hecho al rey nuestro señor relacion, que parecia aver sido Ant. Perez, en orden a la muerte del Secretario Juan Escovedo, con voluntad y consentimiento de Su Magd., y que parecia conveniente que pareciesse este consentimiento en el proceso, para descargo de Ant. Perez, y poderle conforme a esto absolver del todo, como era justo; y assimismo seria necessario se mostrassen las causas del, para que no se ofenda punto de reputacion de Su Magd. y su gran christiandad;

himself to decide upon this matter according to his good pleasure." *

For the execution of this plan, Philip gave to Rodrigo Vasquez, on the 4th of January, 1590, a written order thus conceived: "You may tell Antonio Perez, in my name, and, if necessary, by showing him this paper, that he knows well the knowledge I have of having commanded him to kill Escovedo, and the motives which he told me there were for so doing; and that, as it is important for my satisfaction and that of my conscience, that people should know whether those causes were sufficient or not, I order him to tell them in every particular, by giving *the proof of what he alleged against me in this manner*, of which, moreover, you are not ignorant, since I have communicated it to you particularly. When I have seen the answers he will have made, and the reasons he will have given you, I shall order that such measures be taken about every thing, as will be most proper." †

convinò en que así se hiciesse, y mandò que supiesen del dicho Ant. Perez las causas dichas, pues el era el que las sabia, y avia dado noticia a Su Magd. y la averiguacion y probanza que avia dellas." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Y en quanto si se pondrian en el proceso, ó no, avisaria despues lo que fuesse su voluntad." *Ibid*.

† "Podreis decir à Ant. Perez de mi parte, y si fuera menester, ensenadle este papel, que el sabe muy bien la noticia que yo tengo de haver el hecho matar a Escovedo, y las causas, que me dixó que avia para ello: y porque a mi satisfacion, y

They had guarded their prisoner with double vigilance. The alguazils, Erizo and Zamora, had been commanded to watch him narrowly, to let him speak and communicate with no one, and not to speak to him themselves, upon pain of death.* They then showed Perez the king's order. He answered that saving the humble respect which he owed to the words of his Majesty, he had nothing more to say than what was contained in his former declarations; that he knew nothing relative to the murder of Escovedo, and had had nothing to do with it.† At the same time he once more objected to Rodrigo Vasquez as a prejudiced and hostile judge. In order to give him a seeming satisfaction, the king gave, as a colleague to Vasquez, the licentiate Juan Gomez,

la de mi consciencia conviene, saber si estas causas fueron, ó no, bastantes, y que yo le mando que las diga, y de particular razon dellas, y muestre, y haga verdad las que ansi me dixó, de que vos teneis noticia, porque yo os las he dicho particularmente, para que aviendo yo entendido las que asi os dixere, y razon que os diere dello, mande verle que en todo convendria hacer. Madrid, 4 de Henero de 1590. Yo el Rey." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Y el mismo dia se notificò a los alguaciles, Erizo y Zamora, a cada uno de por si, y juntos, que tubiessen mucho cuydado y guarda, y custodia de Ant. Perez, y que no le dexassen hablar, ni comunicar con nadie, ni ellos propios le hablassen so pena de la vida." *Ibid.*

† "Respondiò a todos que salvo (como tiene dicho) el acatamiento y reverencia débida al decir de Su Magd. no tiene que decir mas de lo dicho en sus confesiones que esto que declara: ni sabe de la muerte ni interviniò en ella." *Ibid.*

who was of his chamber and council.* The two judges, conformably to the royal order, pressed Perez on several different occasions, the 25th, 27th, and 28th of January, and the 1st, 12th, 20th, and 21st of February, 1590, to explain to them the motives of the death of Escovedo, and prove their force and urgency. Perez persisted in answering that he would say nothing, because he knew nothing.† As they were resolved to have a confession from him, though they could not obtain it by fair means, they determined to get it from him by force. Rodrigo Vasquez and Juan Gomez, on the 21st of February, ordered the alguazils, who guarded Perez, to bind him with a chain and to put shackles on his feet.‡ Perez entreated the king humbly, but in vain, to order them to take off his irons, which his ailing condition did not permit him to support.§ On the 22d of Feb-

* Proceso, MSS.

† "En 25, 27, y 28 de Henero de 1590, y en primero de Hebrero, 12, 20 y 21 del, hicieron las mismas diligencias con el papel de Su Magd. con el dicho Ant. Perez, paraque declarasse las causas que dixò a Su Magd. para la muerte del Secretario Escobedo, y las hiciesse buenas, y probasse; y respondiò que no tenia que declarar y que se remitia a sus confesiones." Ibid.

‡ "Y en dia 21 de Hebrero mandaron a los alguaciles que le hechen luego al dicho Ant. Perez una cadena y un par de grillos a los pies." Ibid.

§ "En 22 de Hebrero . . . pidiò Ant. Perez que le quitasen los grillos, por estar mui malo y aver mas de once años que estaba preso." Ibid.

ruary Rodrigo Vasquez and Juan Gomez repaired to his prison, and summoned him, once more, to answer them conformably to the king's last order.* Perez still refused. His judges then threatened him with the torture, without being able to intimidate him.† Vasquez immediately retired into the next room, and left the unfortunate Perez with the licentiate Juan Gomez, the scrivener, Antonio Marquez, and the executioner, Diego Ruis, to put him to that dreadful proof, the revolting account of which I will quote from the process itself.

“ At the same instant, the said judges replied to him that the proofs still remaining in all their force and vigour . . . , they ordered him to be put to the torture to make him declare what the king required ; that, if he lost his life or the use of some limbs, it would be his own fault ; and that he alone would be responsible. He repeated, once more, his former assertions, and protested, moreover, against the use of torture towards him, for these two reasons : first, because he was of noble family ; and secondly, because his life would be endangered, since he was already disabled by the effects of his eleven years' imprison-

* Proceso, MSS.

† “ Tornósele a repetir por los dichos señores, que declarasse como Su Magd. lo mandaba, con apercibimiento de ser puesto a question de tormento, dixo que decia lo que dicho tiene.”
Ibid.

ment.* The two judges then ordered his irons and chain to be taken off; requiring him to take an oath and declare whatever he was asked. Upon his refusal, Diego Ruis, the executioner, stripped him of his garments, and left him only his linen drawers. The executioner having afterwards retired, they told him once more to obey the king's orders, on pain of suffering torture *by the rope*. He repeated once more that he said what he had already said. Immediately the ladder and apparatus of torture having been brought, Diego Ruis, the executioner, crossed the arms of Antonio Perez, one over the other; and they proceeded to give him one twist of the rope. He uttered piercing cries, saying: *Jesus! that he had nothing to declare; that he had only to die in torture; that he would say nothing; and that he would die.*† This he repeated many times. By this time

* "Le mandaron poner a question de tormento, y si en el moriesse, ò lesion de algun miembro le sucediesse, fuesse por su culpa, y cargo; y dixò lo que dicho tiene, que por estas dos cosas, la una el ser hidalgo, la otra el dano y lesion que resultasse en su persona, a tento a estar tullido de las largas prisiones de once anos." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "Y luego estando presente la escalera, y aparejos del tormento, por el Diego Ruiz Verdugo le fueron cruzados los brazos al dicho Antonio Perez uno sobre otro, y le fueron comenzado a dar una buelta de cordel en ellos, el qual diò grandes voces, diciendo, *Jesus! y que avia de morir en el tormento, y que no tenia que decir, sino morir.*" Ibid.

they had already given him four turns of the rope*; and the judges having returned to summon him to declare what they wanted of him, he said, with many shrieks and exclamations, *that he had nothing to say; that they were breaking his arm. Good God! I have lost the use of one arm; the doctors know it well.* He added with groans: *Ah! Lord, for the love of God! . . . They have crushed my hand, by the living God!* He said, moreover: *Señor Juan Gomez, you are a Christian; my brother, for the love of God, you are killing me, and I have nothing to declare.*† The judges replied again, that he must make the declarations they wanted; but he only repeated: *Brother, you are killing me! Señor Juan Gomez, by our Saviour's wounds, let them finish me with one blow! . . . Let them leave me, I will say whatever they will; for God's sake, brother, have compassion on me!* At the same time, he entreated them to relieve him from the position in which he was placed, and to give him his clothes, saying, he would speak.‡ This did not

* "Y a esta sazon tenia dados quatro bueltas de cordel." *Proceso, MSS.*

† "Y dando grandes voces y gritos dixò que no tenia que decir, y que le mancavan el brazo, vive Dios que estoi manco de un brazo y lo saben los medicos, y diciendo à voces, Señor, por amor de Dios, que me mancan y que me han mancado la mano, por Dios vivo: y tornò a decir, Señor Juan Gomez, Christiano es, hermano por amor de Dios, que me matas que no tengo de decir mas." — *Proceso, MSS.*

‡ "Fuele tornado a decir por los dichos jueces que responda,

happen until he had suffered eight turns of the rope*; and the executioner being then ordered to leave the room where they had used the torture, Perez remained alone with the licentiate Juan Gomez and the scrivener Antonio Marquez.”†

Then Perez, so perfidiously abandoned by his master, tortured so cruelly by his judges, and overwhelmed with pain, acknowledged that he was the author of Escovedo's death, and alleged as motives for that death the reasons of state which he has explained in his *Relaciones* and in his *Memorial* before the *justicia* of Aragon, and which we have previously quoted and discussed. He entered into considerable details‡ upon this point, “since they commanded him,” says the procedure, “to prove and properly establish the reality of the motives submitted by him to the king, to cause the death of Escovedo.” He replied that all his papers had been taken from him, at different times, during the various periods of his confinement; that among them would be found many proofs of what he declared he had said to his Majesty;

y no dixò mas que: *Hermano que me matas; Señor Juan Gomez, por las llagas de Dios acaben me de una vez; dexen me, que quanto quisieren dire; por amor de Dios, hermano, que te apiades de mi. Y luego dixò que le quitassen de como estaba, que le den una ropa, que el dira.*—*Proceso, MSS.*

* “Y esto fue teniendo ya ocho bueltas de cordel.” *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

that there would have been also many witnesses very worthy of credit, such as the person named by him (the Marquis de Los Velez,) and who would have attested the whole affair; but that, as it was twelve years since the death of Escovedo, the said persons were then wanting; that, moreover, these were things for which the subject relied upon his prince.*

On the morrow of this day of suffering, Diego Martinez, the devoted, and till then silent, steward of Perez, having perceived that his master had confessed all, thought himself no longer obliged to keep silence. He confirmed, by a circumstantial declaration, the account which the ensign, Antonio Enriquez, had given respecting the death of Escovedo. † The downfall of Perez was too great to allow any envy to subsist; it gave place to pity. The court was surprised and frightened to see torture used towards a man of such high rank, a minister, a favourite, and

* " Fuele dicho a este declarante que haga verdad y muestre las cosas que asi dixò a Su Magd. para la muerte de Escobedo; dixò que todos los papeles le fueron tomados las otras veces en diferentes prisiones, y que entre ellos huviera muchos recandos de lo que dicho tiene que dixò a Su Magd., y tubiere muchos testigos muy fide dignos, como la persona, que se ha nombrado, que testificaria de todo el caso. Pero como doce anos que murì Escobedo han faltado las personas dichas. Demas que estas son materias que da el vasallo a su principe, y mas quando los particulares que le decian con secreto, y asolas de Escobedo no se podian tener testigos." *Proceso, MSS.*

† *Ibid.*

the facile tool of the king. No one thought himself safe from the most barbarous proceedings of this violent justice. They began, moreover, to perceive that the king and Perez had participated in common in the deed for which one suffered the torture which the other commanded. They murmured openly about it at court; and one of the most considerable persons even exclaimed with indignation: "Treachery from a subject to a sovereign is common; but never was such treachery seen from a sovereign towards his subject."* The court preacher even said publicly in the chapel: "Men, after what are you running thus gaping and dismayed? † Do you not see the disenchantment? Do you not see the peril in which you live? Have you not seen such a one yesterday at the pinnacle of fortune who is now at the torture? And do you not know why he has been tortured for so many years? What do you want, then, and what do you still hope for?"

As to Perez, left by his judges and the executioner shattered and bruised, he was consumed by a fever, and a mental anguish still more agonising than fever. He clearly perceived the fate that awaited him:

* "Trayciones de vasallos a reyes muchas se han visto, pero de rey a vasallo nunca tal."—*Relaciones*, p. 86.

† "Hombres tras quien os andays desvanescidos, y boca-biertos? No veys el desengãño? No veys el peligro en que bivis? No le veys? No le vistis ayer en la cumbre, y oy en el tormento? Y no se sabe, porque ay tantos años que le affigen? Que buscays, que esperays?" *Ibid.*, p. 87.

death after torture. He knew that Vasquez had told the king that "Perez, deprived of his papers, could no longer clear himself *, and that his conduct, like his declaration, remained tainted with fraud." Vasquez examined new witnesses †, and directed his inquiries in a manner to prove, more and more, that Escovedo's murder had originated in the criminal intimacy between Perez and the Princess of Eboli, and to implicate Perez also in the death of Pedro de la Era, the astrologer, and of the esquire, Rodrigo Morgado. In this extremity, Perez thought more than ever of escaping, by flight, from the ignominious punishment that was preparing. But how was it to be done? Both his arms were crippled; he was ill, alone, and closely guarded. On the 27th of February he begged they would allow his usual servants to take care of him during his illness. ‡ Doctor Torres, who then came to visit him as a physician, affirmed that he found him "in a burning fever, in danger of his life, if they did not succour him." § On the 2d

* "No tenia conque provar los, aviendosele quitado sus papeles." — *Relaciones*.

† At this time he examined Bartolomo de la Era, Andres de Morgado, Dona Isabel de Aguilar, Don Lorenzo Telles de Silva, Marquis of Fabrara. — *Proceso*, MSS.

‡ "Por estar muy malo pidiò que se le diese licencia, a que entrassen a curarle los criados que solian, y a servirle por estar tullido de los brazos." *Ibid*.

§ "Y el mismo dia diò una certificacion el Doctor Torres medico, que declara le hallò con mucha calentura y con peligro de la vida, si no se alivia." *Ibid*.

of March they authorised a page, chosen by Juana Coëllo, whose advanced state of pregnancy was no impediment to her active devotion, to wait on him in prison, upon condition that he should never go out or speak to any body.* The malady gaining ground, or seeming to increase, Dona Juana Coëllo, about the middle of March, requested they would permit her and her children to assist Perez, that he might not die without succour. † At first she met with a refusal; but, as she did not cease in her entreaties, she was finally permitted to remain with her husband in the beginning of April. ‡ It was then that Perez adroitly planned his means of escape. He seemed more than ever worn out by suffering; but, about nine o'clock on the evening of Ash-Wednesday, the 20th of April, having put on a dress and cloak belonging to his wife, he passed, thus disguised, through the guards and escaped from his prison. § One of his friends was waiting for him without ||;

* “. . . Con tal que entrando, no ha de salir, ni entrar, ni hablar con persona alguna.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

† “Diò peticiones, pidiendo se le diesse licencia à ella y à sus hijos, para curar à su marido por estar muy apretado de su salud, como consta de la relacion de los medicos.” *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ “Antonio Perez quebrantò la carcel, y se huyò, saliendo della vestido de muger con manto, y de noche, entendiendo las guardias que era su muger, saliò por en medio dellas.” *Ibid.*

|| “Saliò . . . el miercoles sancto a las nueve de la noche, y con amigo solo.” — *Relaciones*, p. 91.

and, somewhat further on, was the ensign, Gil de Mesa, with horses all ready to transport him to Aragon.* Scarcely had they stepped out into the street, when, before reaching Gil de Mesa, they met some of the patrols going their rounds. Without being disconcerted, the friend of Perez stopped, and spoke with them, whilst he himself remained silently and respectfully behind, like a servant.† Having luckily escaped this danger, Perez soon joined Gil de Mesa, mounted on horseback with him, and, followed by a Genoese named Juan Francisco Mayorini ‡, rode post for thirty Spanish leagues without stopping; and, at length, set foot in Aragon, where he was to find the succour of impartial justice, among a people whose privileges made them extremely independent, and whose independence had left them proud and brave.

* "Gil de Mesa avia ydo esperar con los cavallos." — *Relaciones*, p. 91.

† "Toparon en la calle con la justicia, y passaron, y con tan buena maña del amigo que hablò con la justicia estando Antonio Perez detras, como criado suyo." *Ibid.*

‡ "Este fue Juan Francisco Mayorini un Ginoves, porque causasse segunda vez los cavallos y no ballassen la persecucion y el corrimiento que avian de partir tras el en que correr como succediò." *Ibid.*, pp. 91—92.

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP'S PROSECUTION OF PEREZ BEFORE THE COURT OF THE JUSTICIA MAYOR OF THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON. — COMPULSORY DESISTANCE OF PHILIP. — ACCUSATION OF HERESY BROUGHT AGAINST PEREZ. — HIS REMOVAL INTO THE PRISON OF THE HOLY OFFICE. — INSURRECTION OF THE 24TH OF MAY, 1591. — PEREZ REINSTALLED IN THE PRISON OF THE MANIFESTADOS.

As soon as Perez had arrived in Aragon every thing wore a different aspect. There was no longer a mysterious process between two accomplices, one of whom oppressed the other by the very means of justice which was subservient to his power and his hatred. The king was not to meet with more favour than the subject before the free and intrepid tribunal of Aragon. Perez had expiated his share of the murder in Castile, by the loss of court favour, the ruin of his fortune, the length of his captivity, and the agony of his torture ; and Philip was to expiate his in Aragon, by the evidence of his being an accomplice, the discovery of his perfidy, and the acquittal of his adversary. The subject had been punished in his person ; the prince was to be punished in his reputation : a chastisement reserved for those who can undergo no other.

Perez, however, on seeing himself free, was far from laying aside his old respect towards his master, and showing a rash security. He would have liked to put an end to this unequal contest; and hardly had he crossed the frontier of Castile, when, on the 24th of April, he wrote to Philip, from Calatayud, a letter full of entreaty and submission *: "Sire," said he, "seeing to what an extent my confinement was prolonged, after so many years, and what was the severity of certain of your ministers, as well as that of my disgrace, without anything on my part deserving what I have suffered, and without any other end to my process and my miseries than that of my life and every thing else; reduced by your ministers to be no longer able to answer either for myself, for the honour of my fathers and my children, or even for my duties as a man and a Christian, I have resolved to do what I have done, and to come into this kingdom of your Majesty, who will be still as completely sovereign of me as if I was loaded with the heaviest chains and irons, and where I shall be as submissive to your royal will as clay is in the hands of the potter.† This is what I have sufficiently

* "Carta de Antonio Perez para Su Magd. de San Pedro Martyr de Calatayud, a 24 Abril, 1590."—*Memorial de Antonio Perez*, primera parte, p. 275.

† "Pues en el es, y sera V. Magd. tan señor de my todo como en medio de los grillos y cadenas mas fuertes, y yo tan obediente à su real voluntad, como el barro en la mano de su ollero." *Ibid.*, p. 275.

proved and testified by my long sufferings, supported by the hope I have always placed in your Majesty, in your very Christian virtues and mercy, and in that secret of my innocence which is confided by me to your bosom. It is upon this sole foundation and by virtue of these single titles, that I give up an appeal to my feeble services and fidelity; though, for any other or a happier man than I, they might have gained a different reward from what I have received; and I most humbly beg your Majesty, since you possess so strong a proof of the truth of what I say, and of the passion of one or several ministers by their consultations or intrigues, to accept the surrender and total abandonment that I make of myself, body and soul, to your discretion and will in all things, and not to suffer the hatred of those of whom I speak to go further, to the contempt of your very Christian piety and the good of your service, and to the detriment of your faithful subjects; I beg your Majesty, moreover, for the love of God, to deign to take care of that poor woman and those children, whose fathers and ancestors were ever the well-tried servants of your Majesty. I conjure you, Sire, by all that you are, to let us live in some corner, wherever your Majesty may think proper; so that, since we can no longer be of any other use, we may there pray to God that your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous life, as

full of every blessing as Christendom requires.”* Perez wrote on the same day to Diego de Chaves, the confessor, and to the Cardinal of Toledo, imparting to them the contents of the letter that he addressed to the king, and beseeching them to implore for him this last favour. †

Philip did not agree to these humble, these supplicating proposals of peace. The flight of Perez had caused general satisfaction. Even Philip's court-fool, named uncle Martin, who, like his fellows, had the privilege of speaking freely to his master on every subject, and of showing himself a wise man in seeming to play the fool, said to him, in open court, upon the subject of this escape: “Sire, who is then this Antonio Perez, whose escape and deliverance have filled every one with delight? He cannot then have been guilty: rejoice, therefore, like other people.” ‡ But far from taking his fool's good advice,

* “Tambien supplico à V. Magd. por su gran piedad, mande mirar por essa muger y hijos, y nietos de padres y abuelos fieles y provados de V. Magd., y que por quien V. Magd. se sirva que vivamos en un rinçon, el que V. Magd. fuere servido, que sera rogando a Dios quando para mas no valgamos, por la larga vida y prosperidad de V. Magd., a quien el la de muy complida en todo como la Christiandad lo ha menester.”—*Memorial*, p. 276.

† “Y dexar me bivar en un rinçon con my muger y hijos,” &c.—*Ibid.*, pp. 277—278.

‡ “Pero si darè lo de un loco del rey llamadò tío Martin, loco verdadero . . . viendo contentamiento de todos de aver se escapado Antonio Perez entrò aquella misma mañana al rey, y

Philip extended the severity of his persecutions to the innocent family of Perez. He caused his wife and all his children to be arrested and cast into the public prison.* In relating this iniquitous and cruel act, Perez uses a language of the most bitter and painful irony: "The arrests and new severities," says he, "which signalized the morrow of the day of his flight, Holy Thursday, (for the Thursday was holy, but the actions just the reverse,) in the person of his wife and children, several of whom were so young that it was necessary to carry them in the arms (such were the malefactors and bullies they imprisoned) were deplorable." They called forth tears of compassion, and raised a universal clamour. It was a worthy resolution to take to prevent the flight of those Barbarossas, those Aluchalys †, those poor children, that nest of young swallows, and that poor mother ready, doubtless, to flee upon some barbed horse, or excellent charger, pregnant as she still was, and within a month of her time. In such a state they seized her and them; and it happened, moreover, on the day when it is usual to pardon the very worst of criminals, at the very hour of the procession of the penitents on Holy Thursday, passing, with a reckless disregard to custom and decency,

le dixò: *Señor, quien es este Antonio Perez, que todos se huelgan que se aya escapado y librado? No devia tener culpa. Holgad vos tambien.*" — *Relaciones*, pp. 95—96.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 92. 96.

† Deys of Algiers.

among the crosses and all the corteges of this solemnity, in order that there might be no lack of witnesses for this glorious action. In short, they conducted the mother and the children to the public gaol: persons whose condition, sex, age, and crime, were very deserving, indeed, of such a dwelling and such company as is usually to be found there.* A little further on he adds, with eloquent energy: "The crime committed by a wife who aids her husband to escape from prison, martyred as he had been for so many years, and reduced to such a miserable condition, is justified by all law natural, divine and human, and by the laws of Spain in particular. Saul, pursuing David, respected Michal, though she was his daughter, and had even saved her husband from the effects of his wrath. Law — common, civil, and canonical, — absolves woman from whatever she does to defend her husband. The special law of Count Fernan Gonzalès leaves her free; the voice and the unanimous decree of all nations exalt and glorify her. If, when her children are in her house, in their chamber, or their cradle, it be proved that they are strangers to everything, by that alone, and by their

* "Y en la hora de las procesiones de disciplinantes del jueves santo, rompiendo por ellos, por las cruces, por todos los passos de aquella remembrença, porque no faltasen testigos de tan glorioso acto. En fin, fueron llevados madre y hijos a la carcel publica: merescedoras personas, estado, sexo, edad, culpa, de tal lugar y de la compañía que en el suele aver." — *Relaciones*, p. 92.

age, which excludes them from such confidences, how much more must that child be a stranger to all, which the mother bore in her bosom, and which they thus made a prisoner before its birth. Even before it could be guilty, it was already punished; and its life and soul were endangered, like one of its brothers who lost both when they seized his mother a second time, near the port of Lisbon.* He finishes with these noble and avenging threats: "But let them not be deceived; wherever they put them, such captives have, on their side, the two most powerful advocates in the whole world: their innocence and their misfortune.† No Cicero, no Demosthenes can so charm the ear, or so powerfully rouse the mind, as these two defenders; because, among other privileges, God has given them that of being always present, to cry out for justice, to serve both as witnesses and advocates, and to terminate one of those processes which God alone judges in this world ‡;

* "Sino era el hijo que tenia la madre en el vientre, que antes que naciese fue preso, y antes de poder ser delinquente fue castigado, y puesto a peligro de la vida y del alma, como el otro hermano, que perdiò lo uno y lo otro en la otra prision de la madre, hecha en la mar de Lisboa." — *Relaciones*, p. 95.

† "... Captivos tienen los dos mas fuertes sollicitadores de toda la naturaleza inferior, la inocencia y el agravio." *Ibid.*, p. 103.

‡ "Porque de mas de otros privilegios les ha dado Dios uno, que hagan compañía para la demanda de su justicia, y que sean testigos y advogados el uno del otro, y que puedan çertar un proceso de los que el juzga en este siglo." — *Ibid.*, p. 104.

this is what will happen in the present case, if the justice of men be too long in default. And let not the debtors of God be too confident about the delay of his judgment; though the fatal term be apparently postponed, it is gradually approaching; and the debt to be paid is augmented by the interest which is added to it down to the last day of heaven's great reckoning.* The prosecutions against Perez were promptly resumed, and continued to the last with implacable energy. Hardly had he been ten hours at Calatayud, when an order arrived to seize him dead or alive, before he passed the Ebro.† This order, which Philip could not give till the day after the escape, came too late. Perez had already cast himself, with his companion Mayorini, into the Dominican convent dedicated to Saint Peter the Martyr, as a sure asylum‡; and it was there Don Manuel Zapata, a gentleman of Calatayud, came in the king's name to declare him a prisoner.§

* "Y no se fien los dendoros en la dilacion que aunque tarda al parescer, camina siempre el plazo, y quanto tarda cresce la denda con los intereses del castigo del cielo." — *Relaciones*, p. 104.

† "Que bivo ó muerto le huviesse à las manos antes que passase a Hebro." *Ibid.*, p. 105.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 106. Antonio Herrera, *Historia General*, fol. Madrid, 1612, lib. viii. cap. xvi. fol. 278. col. 2. Proceso, MSS.

§ "Y Don Manuel Zapata, Cavallero de Calatayud, gentil-hombre de la boca del rey, hizò fuerça en que le sacassen del monasterio." — HERRERA, *Historia General*, lib. viii. cap. xvi. fol. 278. col. 2.

Perez was lost, if Philip's fiscal in Aragon should seize his person, in order to take him before the *audiencia* or royal tribunal. To avoid this danger Gil de Mesa had started, in all haste, for Saragossa, where he had invoked for Perez and Mayorini the privilege of the *manifestados*; a privilege which, conformably to the *fueros*, ought to subject them to the supreme tribunal of the chief justice of Aragon.* Accordingly, whilst the lieutenant of the governor of Aragon, hastening to Calatayud, was trying to get the prisoners out of the monastery, to conduct them before the former of these jurisdictions, Don Juan de Luna, baron of Purroy, and one of the deputies of the kingdom, had also repaired thither with fifty arquebusiers, in order to place them under the protection of the latter.† Backed by the people of Calatayud, who rose in the name of their liberties, Don Juan de Luna conducted Perez and Mayorini into the prison called the *Fuero*, at Saragossa.‡ Philip then brought a complaint in form against Perez, and accused him: 1st, of having caused Escovedo to be killed by falsely making use of his name; 2ndly, of having betrayed him (the king), by divulging the

* "Gil de Mesa fue en gran diligencia a Zaragoza a manifestarle con el Mayorini en el tribunal del justicia."—HERRERA, *Historia General*, lib. viii. cap. xvi. fol. 278. col. 2.

† "Y luego acudió a Calatayud don Juan de Luna, . . . con cinquanta arcabuzeros." Ibid.

‡ Ibid. *Relaciones*, p. 106.

secrets of state; and 3rdly, of having escaped from prison.*

The constitution of Aragon, and the singularly independent form which justice had preserved in that kingdom, are well known. Having enjoyed great freedom under their national princes, the Aragonese had watched, with a still more attentive solicitude, over the maintenance of their ancient privileges, since they had been placed, towards the beginning of this century, under the dominion of the kings of Castile. The latter assumed the title of kings of Aragon only after having solemnly sworn to observe the *fueros* of that kingdom. The violation of the *fueros*, on the part of the king, authorised the revolt of his subjects who then uttered their cry *Contra fuero!* and that cry, says the historian Herrera, made the very stones of Aragon rise and mutiny †: the consequence of which might be even the deposition of the sovereign. Accordingly, that imperious and famous speech, which the chief justice (*mayor justicia*) of Aragon, in the name of his countrymen, addressed to the king, after the latter had taken the oath, bare-headed, was not an empty formula: *We who are worth as much as you, and who have more*

* Proceso, MSS. Herrera, fol. 279. col. 1. Relaciones, pp. 105—106. Memorial, pp. 295—296.

† "Voz que en Aragon comueve hasta las piedras." — HERRERA, fol. 278. col. 2.

power than you, we make you our king, on condition that you will respect our privileges, — if not, not.

Charles V. and Philip II., notwithstanding all their power, had not dared to infringe the constitution of these proud and brave mountaineers. They had been constantly obliged to choose, among the Aragonese, the viceroy, to whom they delegated their feeble authority, as well as the other agents of the crown. No foreign soldier could set his foot upon the territory of Aragon. The country guarded, governed, taxed, administered and judged itself. The Cortes, composed of deputies from the clergy, the high nobility or *ricos hombres*, the nobility of second rank, or *cavalleros* and *hidalgos*, and the cities, and convoked every two years by the king, who presided over them himself, or appointed a prince of his family to do so, regulated the taxes, pronounced upon the different matters of state, and decided upon peace and war. The king could neither dissolve nor prorogue the assembly without the consent of the latter; and a unanimity of votes was necessary to adopt his proposals. The session did not last more than forty days; but a permanent deputation of the Cortes remained invested with powers, exercising the sovereign authority of this assembly during the long vacation of the sessions.

Justice, that first and ever tardily satisfied want of human society, was organised in Aragon, in a more comforting and original manner than any

where else. There were, as in the other states of the Spanish monarchy, royal and ecclesiastical judges. But these particular justices were placed under the high superintendence and supreme authority of a magistrate called *justicia mayor*, or chief justice, chosen from the second class of the nobility, and charged to protect the people and support their rights. Every inhabitant of Aragon might appeal to him. As soon as the powers of the other tribunals were suspended, the *justicia mayor* caused the execution of their sentences to be postponed, revised them, with the assistance of his five deputies, annulled them, if he found them contrary to the privileges of the kingdom, and relieved the prisoner from the condemnation pronounced against him. His proceedings were public, his manner of examination excluded torture and every use of violence, his prison was known by the noble name of *Manifestation* or *Liberty*, and his authority was the object of an immemorial and, so to speak, impassioned respect. The king certainly appointed the *justicia mayor*; but he could not revoke that great defender of the Aragonese constitution, who had the right to make an appeal to arms against the king himself, if he endangered the constitution. Being the guardian of the *fueros*, the *justicia mayor* was subordinate only to the Cortes, which assembly, invested with all the authority of the nation, could suspend him from his

functions, if he performed them with weakness or infidelity.

It was under the ægis of this tutelar magistracy, then borne by Don Juan de la Nuza, that Antonio Perez found himself placed, on his arrival at Saragossa. There was in this city one of Philip's commissioners, Don Inigo de Mendoza, Marquis of Almenara, who was charged to extend his master's authority. Not satisfied with having established at Madrid the supreme council of Aragon, to direct with its aid the general affairs of that kingdom, Philip had the arrogance to choose and send whomsoever he thought proper as viceroy to Saragossa, without being compelled to appoint a native of Aragon. The Marquis of Almenara was commissioned to support this pretension before the tribunal of the *justicia mayor*.*

He received all the depositions and the divers counts which inculpated Perez, and was ordered to prosecute him, in concert with the fiscal, before the Aragonese tribunal. The proceedings began. As it would have been, even now, possible to suspend them,

* "Y luego se puso acusacion contra Antonio Perez por el fiscal de Su Magd. y por Don Inigo de Mendoza, Marquez de Almenara, un cavallero castellano que estaba en Zaragossa por Su Magd., siguiendo y solicitando un pleito, que trataba ante la corte del gran justicia de Aragon, en razon de que Su Magd. queria y pretendia el poner virrey a quien quisiesse, y el reyno de Aragon dice que ha de ser Aragones, porque asi lo disponen los fueros del reyno." — *Proceso*, MSS.

Perez again invoked the royal clemency in respectful terms, in which, however, some appearance of threat was perceptible. For this purpose, he wrote to the king's confessor on the 8th and 10th of May.* After having complained of the persecutions to which he had been subject for eleven years — after having recapitulated all the promises which Philip and Diego de Chaves had made, either to him or his wife, to prevent him from justifying himself, and to get his papers from him, none of which promises had been kept — after having announced that it was no longer possible for him to allow himself to be crushed in silence, and having warned them that, though they believed they had taken from him every means of justification, he had still in his possession authentic documents enough to enable him to do so in the most striking manner †, he continued in these terms: —

“Let your *paternity* consider, in your prudence and piety, whether it be proper that the king's secrets should be brought before a tribunal ‡, and how much you are bound by a thousand different motives, in conscience and honour, to provide for my defence, and point out to me what I ought to do and answer, called as I am to judgment in so very pressing a

* Memorial, pp. 280. 286.

† Ibid., p. 280—284.

‡ “Sobre todo esto considere Vuestra Paternidad, con su mucha prudencia y Christiandad, si puede convenir, por alguna cosa, que se lleque con tales materias a juyzio.” Ibid., p. 284.

manner. I say that I beg your *paternity* to consider, with a view to what is most proper to the king's service, what expedient I ought to employ in this business at this particular juncture; for, as my fidelity and devotion to the king's service are so deeply rooted in my heart, I am disposed to do everything that may be calculated to secure the interest of that service. Let your *paternity* examine, without obliging me to justify myself and explain my conduct by the help of the convincing documents above-mentioned, from which I can derive advantage, whether it would not be well to close the process and dismiss me as acquitted*, for want of sufficient proofs of the allegations against me; a sentence which, at least, would save my honour. . . . If it appear more suitable for me to claim the privilege of the church, though a colouring of guilt remain upon me, I will undergo even that, as I have ever done till now. . . . But I warn your *paternity* not to defer the remedy for all this, nor your answer to my questions; for everything will become more difficult as the process advances; and I see that, in these

* “. . . Que como tengo tan arraygada en las entrañas la fidelidad y amor al servicio de Su Magd., dispuesto estoy à qualquier medio que mas conviniere para acertarse esta. Y mire V. Paternd. si serà buen expediente que, no obligando me, a descargo, à dar razon de my con tales prendas como las que he dicho, y con la razon que dellas tuviere, se cierre la causa y me absuelvan.” — *Memorial*, pp. 284, 285.

tribunals, there cannot be any secret proceedings. May your *paternity* be willing to believe me, though till now I have not been believed, to the great detriment of the king's service. . . . Let them not undertake new severities against me, but grant me, on the contrary, the very great and most Christian favour to let me live with my wife and children in some corner, as long as my poor person is not thought good enough to handle an oar for the service of my king. If it be so, I shall assuredly prefer to every thing in this life the will of the king, and the obedience I have sworn to his commands."*

These letters remained unanswered. Those who were thus silent at Madrid were acting by underhand contrivances at Saragossa. According to their order, the Marquis of Almenara made use of every intrigue to get Perez into his power and send him back to Castile, where he would be again at the mercy of the king. But his efforts were unavailing in the face of Aragonese loyalty. Perez, supposing that he received no answer from Madrid, and that they would not consent to arrange the matter with him, because they believed him to be unable to justify himself and compromise the king, took care to prove that he had the means. On the 10th of June,

* "Que si esto fuere, seguramente que anteporné yo siempre à todo lo desta vida la voluntad y obediencia de Su Magd."—*Memorial*, p. 286.

he wrote to Philip*: "Sire, as the process is still going forward, and will oblige me to produce convincing testimony, because the honour of my forefathers, my children, and myself is at stake, I have desired to warn your Majesty, once more, of what seems to me very proper to be done; but in matters of such a nature, it seemed to me that I ought not to trust to paper alone to enlighten your Majesty upon them, and I believed that better information would be conveyed to your Majesty by word of mouth." †

Accordingly, he sent to Philip the Prior of Gotor, to whom he had shown, in ecclesiastical confidence ‡, all the papers he had in his possession; he had let him see those notes in the king's handwriting, which authorised him to correspond with Don Juan and Escovedo upon the most secret affairs of state, to alter their despatches in deciphering them, to baffle their projects by the death of Escovedo, and to en-

* "Memorial, p. 288.

† "Como esta cosa se va poniendo muy adelante, y en necesidad de llegar a descargos vivos, por tratarse de la honrra de mis padres, y hijos, y mia, he querido hazer de nuevo advertimiento à V. Magd. de lo que me paresce que mucho conviene. Y por ser de la calidad que son estas materias, hi procurado no fiar de papel solo la informacion de V. Magd. sobre ellas, y tambien porque con relacion de voz biva sea V. Magd. mejor informado." Ibid., p. 288.

‡ "El padre prior de Gotor lleva entendido muy en particular en la confaça de sacerdote, y visto por vista de ojos muchas de las prendas que yo tengo para my descargo." Ibid., p. 289.

dure the persecutions which that death had brought upon him without confessing anything and without complaint. He gave him a copy of most of these notes as well as of the very clearly significant letters of Diego de Chaves.* He furnished him, moreover, with very well-made and minutely detailed instructions upon what he had to state, in order that they should abandon their triple accusation against him of treason, murder, and escape.† “His Majesty,” said he, “must learn from you what pledges I possess for my acquittal, in order to judge whether it be proper to produce them in court, thus compromising many considerable persons, staggering the affection of his own subjects, scandalising the whole world, and raising doubts even of his prudence and piety.‡ The fault of having so badly conducted such an important affair, the consequences of which may be so great, must not appear imputable to his Majesty, when it belongs entirely to ministers either inexperienced or blinded by passion.§ As they have seized all my papers, and have, as I may say, taken my house by assault with their alguazils, they think they have deprived me of every means of justification, and thrown into confusion all the resources of my

* Memorial, pp. 303—306. † Ibid., pp. 298—306.

‡ “En desconfianza de sus mismos vassallos, en escandalo de todas las naciones, en offensa de la gran prudencia y Christianidad de Su Magd.” Ibid., p. 301.

§ Ibid.

cause. . . . But God, from whose eyes nothing is hid, in the inexhaustible treasures of his mercy and justice, holds in reserve, whenever he will, a remedy for the venom of wickedness. He, then, has permitted me to retain, by a lucky chance, a few papers of inestimable value, so evident for my discharge. Yet, notwithstanding their importance, and though they must not only justify me, but set in a glorious light the loyalty of my services and the meritorious fidelity with which I have performed them, I prefer, as at all times, to sacrifice myself to the welfare of the king's service, to the honour of his affairs, and to the opinion which is entertained of him by the world." *

The Prior of Gotor, to whom Perez moreover entrusted two letters, conceived in the same sense, one for the confessor and the other for the cardinal of Toledo, faithfully fulfilled his mission. Philip granted him two or three audiences †, made himself acquainted with the documents marked out for his especial attention, and appeared satisfied with the service they had rendered him by such a warning. ‡ Strange behaviour! yet conformable to the character

* "Con ser tales, y que por ellos no solo me podré descargar, pero que parecera la limpieza de my servicio, y fidelidades y meritos della, antepongo, como siempre, el respecto del servicio de Su Magd., y la auctoridad de sus negocios, y el juyzio del mundo." — *Memorial*, p. 302.

† "Oyò le el rey dos ò tres vezes muy de proposito, y tuvò en sus manos informacion y preueva de lo que se dezia." — *Relaciones*, p. 107.

‡ *Ibid.*

of Philip II., who seemed to grow gentle when he was about to stab: far from showing a judicious clemency towards Perez, he caused the following sentence, a few days after, to be published against him: "In the city of Madrid, and in the court of his Majesty the king, our lord Don Philip the Second, whom God preserve, the 1st day of the month of July in the year 1590, Señores Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce, president of the council of finances, and the licentiate Juan Gomez, of the council and chamber of his Majesty, considering the process and the cause of Antonio Perez, who was secretary of the *Despacho Universal* of his Majesty, have declared that, as a punishment for the culpability which results from it against the said Perez, they were obliged to condemn him and did condemn him to die by the gibbet, to be dragged before being hung, through the streets of the town, according to the usual form, and, after his death, to have his head cut off with an iron and steel knife, to be put in whatever public place may seem fit to the said judges, without any body daring to take it away on pain of death; condemned him, moreover, to the loss of all his property, which would be confiscated to his Majesty's chamber and exchequer, and applied to the expenses made for his person and his process. And thus have pronounced, ordered, and signed the licentiate Rodrigo Vasquez and the licentiate Juan Gomez." *

* "En la villa de Madrid, corte de Su Magd. nuestro Señor

This condemnation, pronounced at Madrid, did not involve an abandonment of the prosecution at Saragossa. Accordingly, the proceedings there continued their course. Perez, reduced to the necessity of justifying himself, drew up his famous *Memorial del Hecho de su Causa*. Therein he told all, grounding his defence upon the original letters of the king and his confessor, which he produced before the judges of Aragon. Philip, being then uneasy about the progress of the affair, sent to request *Miçer* Baptista de la Nuza *, who was the recording judge, as one of the lieutenants of the *justicia mayor*, to forward him a *résumé* of the matter, and to let him know what he thought of it. *Miçer* Baptista de la Nuza sent him this summary of the trial, adding that, in his opinion, Perez would be acquitted on every count. † Philip

Don Phelipe Segunda (que Dios guarde), a primero dia del mes de Julio del año de 1590, visito por los Señores Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce, etc., dixerón que, por la culpa que de todo ello resulta, lo debian de condenar y condenaban en pena de muerte natural de horca, y a que primero sea arrastrado por las calles publicas en la forma acostumbrada, y despues de muerto, le sea cortada la cabeza con un cuchillo de hierro y acero, y sea puesta en un lugar publico, y como qual pareciere à los dichos señores jueces, y del nadie sea osado a quitarla so pena de muerte; condenaron le en perdimiento de todos sus bienes, que aplicaron para la camero y fisco de Su Magd., etc." *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Para esto se mandò a miçer Baptista, juez y relator della, que hiziesse un sumario de todo el proceso." — *Relaciones*, p. 113.

† *Ibid.*

suddenly gave in his abandonment of the proceedings begun in his name against Perez.

In this curious paper, which is dated the 20th of September, according to our manuscript *, and the 18th of August, according to Llorente, the king, in order to explain his abandonment of the prosecution, and lessen the effect of the overwhelming revelations of Perez, says: "Antonio Perez has published his defence; the refutation of it might also be published; there would then remain no doubt of the enormity of his crimes, and there would be no difficulty about his condemnation. † Although in this affair, as in all others, my object is the public interest, which I seek and promote, and though the long imprisonment of Perez and the whole of the prosecution against him, have originated in this cause alone, yet, as Perez, dreading the issue of the process and abusing his position, defends himself in a manner that, to answer him, it would be necessary to touch upon matters far more important than those which ought to figure in public trials — upon secrets which could not be mixed up with them, and upon persons whose reputation and honour ought to be valued much higher

* "Es copia bien y fielmente sacada del original que està en el archivo de Simancas, de donde se sacò en 22 de Agosto de 1669." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "Y si como son publicas las defensas que Ant. Perez ha dado, lo pudiera ser la replica dellas, fuera bien cierto que ni huviera duda en la gravedad de sus delitos, ni dificultad en su condenacion por ellos." *Ibid.*

than the condemnation of Perez, I have found it less inconvenient to renounce the proceedings against him before the tribunal of Aragon, than to handle the above-mentioned subjects.* But my justice is known. I certify that the crimes of Perez are as great as any that a subject could ever have perpetrated against his lord and king, both for the circumstances attending them, and for the conjuncture, the moment, and the manner of committing them.† I wished that this should be stated at the present moment, so that the truth, which I have always protected and must ever protect, may, at no time, receive any injury. Accordingly, notwithstanding my present abandonment of the criminal accusation, begun in my name against Antonio Perez, I mean and I will that all my rights remain safe and free, so as to be able, before any other tribunal, to bring him to an account and have satisfaction for the said accusation, and sue him at any time for the same offences.” ‡

* “Pero por que abusando Ant. Perez desto, y temiendo en el suceso, se defiende de manera que, para responderle, seria necesario tratar de negocios mas graves de los que se sufre en procesos publicos, de secretos que no conviene que anden en ellos, y personas cuya reputacion y decoro se deve estimar en mas que la condenacion de Ant. Perez, hé tenido por menor conveniente no proseguir en la audiencia del Justicia de Aragon su causa, que tratar de los que aqui apunto.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

† “Aseguro que los delitos de Ant. Perez son tan grandos quanto nunca vasallo los hizò contra su rey y señor, asi en la circunstancia dellos, como en la conjuntura, tiempo, forma de cometerlos.” *Ibid.*

‡ “Y salvos y illesos todos . . . derechos que contra el

Perez was acquitted by the supreme tribunal of Aragon.* Philip's abandonment of the proceedings was followed, five days after, by another prosecution. They would have liked to have got Perez condemned for having poisoned the astrologer, Pedro da la Era † and Rodrigo de Morgado ; but it was proved, by the declarations of the physicians, and in spite of the false testimony of several witnesses, that they had both died naturally and of a well-known malady. ‡ This accusation was then renounced, and they had recourse to another.§ The king had the right in Aragon of prosecuting, by a judgment of *inquiry*, absolutely like the judgment of *visit*, practised in Castile, such of his officers as had badly served him, without their being able to invoke the privilege of the Aragonese *fuero*. The Marquis of Almenara ||

dicho Ant. Perez me pertenescan y puedan pertenescer . . . para por via de acusacion, ò en otra qualquiera manera a mi bien vista, pedirle cuenta y razon de los dichos delitos." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Vistos los descargos de Ant. Perez por el gran justicia de Aragon, le dieron por libre de la acusacion de la muerte del Secretario Escobedo." *Ibid*.

† "Don Inigo de Mendoza, Marques de Almenara, . . . le puso otra acusacion, diciendo que con un bebedizo avia muerto à un clerigo de Madrid, de que se causò grande escandalo." *Ibid*.

‡ "A lo qual respondiò Ant. Perez diciendo que el mismo avia bebido de la propria bebida ; y lo probò con medicos que curaron al dicho clerigo que no muriò de ponzoña, sino de mal natural." *Ibid*.

§ *Ibid*.

|| "Visto por el dicho Marques de Almenara dixò contra el

brought a similar process against Perez, whom he accused of corruption, demanding the justicia mayor to give him over to him as the king's officer. Perez had no difficulty in proving that, to be exempt from the privilege of the *fueros*, it was necessary to have been an officer of the king in Aragon, and that he had never been employed any where but in the kingdom and affairs of Castile; that, therefore, he ought not to be delivered over to the arbitrary justice of the crown, but to remain under the protection of the justice of Aragon. He added, moreover, that having been already condemned once for this offence in 1585, he could not be so a second time, and that, besides, he had, in the original letters of the king, the means to justify himself also upon this point.* This project of condemnation by means of inquiry failed † just like the other accusations of murder, treason, and poisoning. Perez now demanded his liberty; he asked at least to be out on bail; and Philip saw his victim on the point of escaping him.

But there was in Catholic Spain a tribunal, which,

dicho Ant. Perez que bien sabian que, entre los fueros de Aragon, avia fuero que disponia que el rey podia castigar à qualquier oficial suyo que le huviessse deservido, sin que se pudiesse valer ni favorecer de los fueros del reyno, y que bien era a todos manifesto ser el dicho Ant. Perez oficial de Su Magd., y como a tal le podia castigar, etc." — *Proceso*, MSS. and *Relaciones*, p. 120.

* *Relaciones*, pp. 120, 121.

† "Lo qual visto por el justicia de Aragon, le dieron por libre desta acusacion." — *Proceso*, MSS.

by its religious character and spirit of invasion, had dominion over all others, a tribunal instituted to punish thoughts in default of acts; being far more devoted to the king than to the church, it was easy to have those condemned by it whom ordinary justice did not strike in a way that policy or royal vengeance desired: this was the Inquisition. Philip had recourse to it against Perez, who, to resist the omnipotency of so formidable a master, had only his wit, his address, and the interest that was attached to him in this unequal struggle. With the elastic interpretation and the mysterious proceedings of the Holy Office, the crime of heresy was not difficult to be proved and established. In the bitterness of his grief, and the impatience of his sufferings, Perez had let fall before men, whom he supposed to be his friends, a few inconsiderate words, which testified his despair, but not his impiety. Moreover, he had thought, with his fellow-captive, Juan Francisco Mayorini, of escaping, by a second flight, from the violent and obstinate persecutions of which he could not help dreading the issue; and, this time, he was to withdraw to France* or Holland. That was

* "Se ha descubierto que la huyda de la carcel que Ant. Perez y Juan Francisco Mayorini procurarian era para yrse a Bearne o a otras partes de Francia donde ay hereges. . . . Y por ser cosa de la qual pudiera resultá muy grande deservicio de Dios y del rey nuestro señor, me ha parecido advertirlo a vuestra merced y embiar copia della." An original letter from Ximenes, regent of the court of chancery at Saragossa, to

sufficient. He had used unguarded language; therefore he had no religion: he wanted to go into a country where there were heretics; therefore, he was a heretic. Such was exactly the reasoning of the Inquisition.

The Marquis of Almenara had tampered with Diego Bustamente, who had served Perez for eighteen years, and with Juan de Basante, teacher of Latin and Greek grammar at Saragossa, who almost daily visited his prison. Relying on the fidelity of the one and trusting to the friendship of the other, Perez, who besides was naturally indiscreet enough, had used no reserve nor dissembled anything before them. They secretly denounced his words and projects to one of the Inquisitors of Saragossa, Don Molina de Medrano, who, in concert with the Marquis of Almenara, drew up these proceedings, whilst the question of inquiry was being debated between Perez and the king's fiscal officer.* The Inquisitor Don Molina de Medrano examined, moreover, Juan Luis de Luna, Anton de la Almenia, and six other witnesses. When the evidence was ready, the tribunal of Saragossa sent it to the supreme tribunal of

the licentiate Molina de Medrano, one of the inquisitors of Aragon; Llorente's Collection, MSS. in the Bibliothèque Royale, French supplement, No. $\frac{1036}{24}$; Inquisition d'Aragon, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 1.

* See vol. xiii. t. i. of Llorente's Collection, fol. 8—11.

the Holy Office at Madrid.* The Inquisitor General, Don Gaspard de Quiroga, transmitted it to friar Diego de Chaves, the king's confessor, to have his opinion upon it as a commissioner. This is the way in which that docile casuist, in order to feed the passions of his master, interpreted the words of Perez.†

“Conformably to the order of the most illustrious Cardinal of Toledo, Inquisitor General, I have received, through the medium of the licentiate * * *, officer of the Holy Inquisitor General, an authentic copy of certain additional articles which have been annexed to the process of inquiry against Antonio Perez, secretary to his Majesty, and the depositions of witnesses relating to them, that I might see and examine the whole, in order to say what I might think of them. After this examination, accurately made, I have noted the following propositions:

“Antonio Perez having been told by some one not to speak ill of Prince Don Juan of Austria, the said Perez replied: Since the king has reproached me with altering the sense of the letters which I wrote, and betraying the secret of the council, I must acquit myself without caring for any one: *if God the Father wished to put any obstacle in the way, I would cut off his nose, for having permitted the king to prove*

* Llorente's Collection, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 66.

† Ibid., 67.

himself so disloyal a knight towards me. Interpretation:—* this proposition, inasmuch as it says, *if God the Father was a hinderance, he would have his nose cut off*, is a blasphemous and scandalous proposition, offensive to pious ears and savouring of the heresy of the Vaudois, who pretend that God is corporeal and has human members. It cannot be excused by saying that Christ has a body and a nose, since he was made man; for it is manifest that the question is here about the first person of the very Holy Trinity, which is the Father.† . . .

“The same Antonio Perez has said: *I am quite at the end of my belief. It seems to me that God sleeps in the business that concerns me; and, if God does not perform a miracle in that business, I shall be on the*

* Llorente's *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 328. See also the declaration of Diego de Bustamente.

† “Deciendole una persona al dicho Antonio Perez que no dixese mal de Señor don Juan de Austria, respondió: ‘Bueno es que despues, &c., repare yo en honrra de nadie para mostrar yo mi descargo, que si Dios padre se atravesara en medio, le llevara las narizes, a que qualquiera en el mondo vea quan, . . .’ Esta proposicion, quanto a lo que dize que, ‘si Dios padre se atravesara en medio, le llevara las narizes,’ es proposicion blasfema, escandalosa, *piarum aurium offensiva, et, ut jacet, est suspecta de heresi Vadianorum, dicentium Deum esse corporeum et habere membra humana*. Ni se puede escusar con desir que Cristo tiene cuerpo y narizes, despues que se hizò hombre; porque consta que se habla acuenta de la prima persona de la santissima Trinidad, que es padre.” — Interpretation of Friar Diego de Chaves. Llorente's *Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i., fol. 67.

point of losing my faith entirely. Interpretation:— this proposition is scandalous and offensive to pious ears, because God is here spoken of as sleeping in the affairs of Perez, as if he was innocent and without reproach, he who has been judicially put to the torture, condemned to death, and accused of the most serious offences.*

“ Antonio Perez, on one of those occasions when he was tormented with grief and anxiety, on being informed of what his wife and children had to suffer †, exclaimed: *God sleeps, God is asleep! All we have*

* “ Dixò el dicho Antonio Perez : ‘ Muy al cabo traygo la fee. Parece que duerme Dios en estos mis negocios, y si Dios no hiziesse milagro en ellos, estaria circa de perder la fee.’ Esta proposicion es escandalosa *et piarum aurium offensiva*, porque parece que dize de Dios que duerme en sus negocios; como si el fuese inocente y sin culpa, un hombre juridicamente atormentado, y condenado a muerte, y acusado de grandissimos delitos.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 67. See also the declaration of Diego de Bustamente. *Ibid.*, fol. 38.

† “ Dize Antonio Perez : ‘ Duerme Dios, Dios duerme. Deve ser burla todo esto que nos dizen de que ay Dios; no deve de aver Dios.’ Esta proposicion, quanto a lo que dize y repite que duerme Dios, junta a las partes siguientes, *est suspecta de heresi, quasi Deus non habeat curam rerum humanarum quam sacre literæ et catholica Ecclesia docent*. Quanto a las otras dos partes de la proposicion, la prima, ‘ Deve ser burla todo esto que nos dizen de que ay Dios, &c.,’ . . . son partes hereticas, porque, quando le pudiesemos mucho escusar y dezir que lo dize dudando, *dubius in fide infidelis est*, porque el que duda de una cosa no cree el si ni el no; y el hombre esta obligado a creer positivamente los dichos, y no creiendo los no es cristiano, y el que duda, como hé dicho, no cree.” *Ibid.*

been told about the existence of God must be only a joke ; there cannot be a God. Interpretation :—this proposition, inasmuch as it says and repeats that God is asleep, and coupling it with the parts which follow, is suspected of heresy ; as if God took not that care of human affairs which is taught by the Scriptures and the Catholic Church. As for the two other parts of the proposition : the first, *all we have been told about the existence of God must be only a joke ;* and the second, *there cannot be a God,* they are both heretical ; because, though we might be able to find much excuse for them by saying that they are advanced doubtingly, yet he who doubts in a matter of faith is an infidel ; for he who doubts of a thing, believes neither yes nor no. Now, man is obliged to believe one or the other positively : in not believing them, he is not a Christian ; and he who doubts, as I have already said, does not believe.

“Perez, transported with anger at the manner, unjust in his opinion, in which he was treated, and at the part that was taken in that prosecution by persons whom he supposed to have good reasons to act differently, but who enjoyed no less the esteem attached to irreproachable conduct, has said * : *Oh ! I deny the milk which I have sucked ; and that is being a Catholic ! I should no longer believe in God, if things went on so.* Interpretation :—this proposition,

* See the declaration of Diego de Bustamente, Llorente's Collection, vol. xiii. t. i. fol 39.

*I should no longer believe in God if things went on so, is a blasphemous and scandalous proposition, offensive to pious ears, and, viewed in conjunction with the preceding one, is not exempt from a suspicion of heresy.”**

This judgment, which contained also a paragraph against Juan Francisco Mayorini, was signed at Madrid, on the 4th of May 1591, by Friar Diego de Chaves, and communicatad to the council of the supreme Inquisition. On the 21st, the Inquisitor General, Don Gaspar de Quiroga, and the three licentiates, Don Francisco d'Avila, Don Juan de Zuniga, and Gil de Quiñiones, decided that Perez and Mayorini should be conducted to the secret prisons of the Holy Office, in Aragon, there to undergo their process in form. † This decree of the supreme council was brought by a courier in two days from Madrid to Saragossa. The inquisitors, Molina de Medrano, Hurtado de Mendoza, and Morejon received it on the 23d of May ‡; and on the morning of the 24th, they gave the following order §,

* “Dixò Antonio Perez : ‘O reniego de la leche que mamé ; y esto es ser Catholicos. Descreeria de Dios, si esto passase asi.’ Esta proposicion, quanto a lo que dize : ‘Descreeria de Dios, si esto passase asi,’ es proposicion blasfema, escandalosa, *piarum aurium offensiva, et, adjuncta præcedenti propositioni, non caret suspicione de illâ heresi.*”—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. p. 67.

† “Ha parecido que los susodichos sean pressos y traydos a las carceles secretas de esa inquisicion, y se les hagan sus procesos en forma.” *Ibid.*, p. 68.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

in the castle of Aljaferia, an ancient palace of the Moorish kings, situated outside the town, where the tribunal held its sittings. "We, the Inquisitors especially delegated by apostolic authority against heretical perversity and apostacy in this kingdom of Aragon, including the city and bishopric of Lerida, command you, Alonzo de Herrera, Alguazil of this Holy Office, on the immediate receipt of this order, to go into the present city of Saragossa, and wherever it be necessary, and to seize the body of Antonio Perez, who was secretary to the king our lord, in whatever place it may be, whether church, monastery, or any other holy, fortified, or privileged place; and after having so taken him, to conduct him cautiously and safely into the prisons of this Holy Office, and deliver him up to the alcade of these prisons, whom we order to receive him from your hands, in presence of one of the notaries *del secreto*."*

The alguazil Alonzo de Herrera, the bearer of a

- * "Nos los inquisidores contra la heretica pravedad y apostasia en el reyno de Aragon . . . mandamos a vos, Alonzo de Herrera y Guzman, alguazil deste santo oficio . . . que prendays el cuerpo de Antonio Perez, secretario que fue del rey nuestro Señor, donde quiera que le hallaredes aunque sea en yglesia, ò monasterio, ò otro lugar sagrado, fuerte, privilegiado; y asi preso y a buen recado le traed a las carceles deste santo oficio, y le entregad al alcayde dellas, al qual mandamos lo reciba de vos por ante uno de los notarios del secreto . . . Dado en el palacio real de Aljaferia de la ciudad de Zaragoza. Ldo. Molina de Medrano, Dr. Antonio Morejon, Ldo. Hurtado de Mendoza." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 69.

similar mandate against Mayorini, presented himself, with eight familiars of the inquisition *, at the prison of the manifestados, but they refused to deliver the prisoners to him, alleging the formal prescriptions of the *fueros*. † Informed of this refusal, the three inquisitors then forwarded a more direct and quite a peremptory order to the alguazil, addressed to the lieutenants of the justicia mayor themselves. They said: "We inflict on them, by virtue of holy obedience, on pain of extreme excommunication, a fine of one thousand ducats for each of them, and all other reserved penalties, if they do not, in the space of three hours, deliver, or command to be delivered to our alguazil, Antonio Perez and Juan Francisco Mayorini, to be conducted into the prisons of the Holy Office, notwithstanding that pretended *manifestation* of their persons, which could not be maintained in things like these, concerning and belonging to faith. This is why we hereby revoke and annul the said *manifestation*, as hindering the free and just exercise of the Holy Office." ‡

* "Los inquisidores embiaron con ocho familiares . . . y un coche. . ." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† Llorente's Collection, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 71.

‡ " . . . Que dentro tiempo de tres horas . . . den y entreguen . . . al dicho alguazil las personas de los dichos Antonio Perez y Juan Francisco Mayorini, para que los trayga a estas carceles, *no embargante qualquier pretensa manifestacion de sus personas*, hecha y proveyda que no puede impedir lo sobre dicho ni ha lugar in cosas tocantes y pertenescentes a la fé, como

This order was brought between eight and nine o'clock in the morning*, to Don Juan de la Miza, who was already in the council-hall with his five lieutenants, *Miçer* Geronimo Chalez, *Miçer* Martin Baptista de la Nuza, *Miçer* Juan Gaco, *Miçer* Juan Francisco Torralba, and *Miçer* Gerardo Claveria.† The justicia mayor had had, the very same night, a secret conversation with the Marquis d'Almenara, who had decided him to obey with docility the wishes of the king.‡ Therefore, after having consulted with his lieutenants, he was of opinion that they ought to yield to the demands of the Inquisition. He sent the secretary Lanceman de Sola, the mace-bearer Matheo Ferrer, and Mendibe, the notary of the cause, to the prison of the *manifestados*, to bring away Perez and Mayorini and deliver them into the hands of the alguazil of the Holy Office.§ At first, everything was done as he had ordered. According to custom, they took an inventory of the effects of Perez. They found among them a copy of the *fueros*, a portrait of his father, Gonzalo Perez, and an image of the Virgin

estas son ; y mandamos *revocar y annular la dicha manifestacion*, como provision que impide el libre y recto uso y exercicio del santo oficio, y notificar la dicha revocacion a todos los oficiales de su corte." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 71.

* "Entre las ocho y las nueve de la mañana." — Deposition of Dr. Chalez. *Ibid.*, fol. 76.

† *Ibid.*, fol. 72.

‡ *Llorente's Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 332.

§ *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 72.

(*Nuestra Señora de las Dolores*)*, at the sight of which he derived, no doubt, arguments to defend his cause, and fortitude to strengthen his heart against misfortune. They afterwards placed him in a carriage with Mayorini, and transported them both to the Aljaferia.

Notwithstanding the diligence and mystery which the Inquisitors and the council of the *justicia mayor* had used in claiming and delivering up the prisoners, the news of this event, which appeared contrary to the privileges of the kingdom, had soon spread throughout the city of Saragossa, and roused its inhabitants. Perez had secret intelligence in the very palace of the Holy Office by means of Francisco Valles, one of its secretaries, and who was indebted to him for his employment. The Inquisitor Morejon, who, above all things, was a good Aragonese, was also favourably disposed towards him. † Perez, in-

* The chief object of this inventory was to procure for the alguazil the eight ducats which, according to the usual mandate of the inquisitors, belonged to him for the expense of capture. They found: *un libro de los fueros y observancias del reyno de Aragon, . . . un quadro con un retrato de una figura que parecia de Gonzalo Perez, . . . una imagen de Nuestra Señora de las Dolores*, and many papers. — *Inventario, Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 73—75.

† “ Y que es publica voz y fama que le ayuda el inquisidor Antonio Morejon, y demas de entenderse asi en Caragoça y en el reyno, este que declara lo entendiò asi de su amo el Marques de Almenara, y que se recatava del . . . ” — *Ibid.*, vol. xiv. t. iii. p. 285, deposition of Urban de la Serna. “ Y la misma sospecha tenia el Marques del Secretario Francesco Valles y

formed of what was plotting, had taken care to give intimation of it to his partisans. The principal members of the nobility had declared in his favour. Of this number were Don Luis Ximenes de Urrea, Count d'Aranda, Don Miguel Martinez de Luna, Count de Morata, Don Diego Fernandez de Heredia, Baron de Barboles, brother to the Count de Fuentes, Don Juan de Luna, Baron de Purroy, Don Martin de la Nuza, Baron de Biescas, Don Martin Espès, Baron de Laguna, Don Pedro Sese, Don Pedro de Bolea, Don Iban Coscon, and many other lords and gentlemen, who, in the protection of his person, saw the safe-guard of their institutions. Three of the most resolute among them, Don Martin de la Nuza, Don Pedro de Bolea, and Don Iban Coscon, who frequently visited Perez in prison, presented themselves upon the market-place, where the prison of the Manifestados was situated, at the moment the prisoners were about to be brought forth.* They questioned one of the familiars of the Inquisition about what they were doing there. "Nothing that you may know," was the answer; "pass on, and may God conduct you."† Then, addressing the alcade of the prison, they reproached him with Geronimo Valles, los quales es publico y notorio son apasionados del dicho Antonio Perez."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xix. t. iii. fol. 186. See also the supplementary Deposition of Lazaro Zorrilla. *Ibid.*, fol. 203.

* Proceso, MSS.

† "Preguntaron a un de los familiares que cosa iban a haer? Y les respondiò se fuessen con Dios, que no era cosa que pudiessen saber sus mercedes." *Ibid.*

surrendering prisoners placed under the protection of the *manifestation*. The alcade told them that he was acting according to the order of the lords of the justice-council of Aragon, who had given this order upon a letter from the Inquisitors.*

Immediately, accompanied by the crowd that had assembled in the market-place, they repaired to the palace of the chief justice, situated in the neighbourhood, entered tumultuously the council-hall, seized Juan de la Nuza by the hand †, and, accusing him of violating their *fueros*, summoned him, with spirit and anger, to revoke the order he had given. The chief justice replied to them that he had acted conformably to the *fueros*, which did not permit him to keep prisoners prosecuted for matters of faith, and he besought them to be calm and to retire. ‡ They then

* “Fueron al alcade de la carcel, y le dixeron que porque dejaban sacar los presos manifestados, siendo, como era, contra fuero? Y el alcade respondiò que lo avia hecho por mandado de los señores del consejo del justia de Aragon . . . que lo avian hecho por letra de los señores inquisidores, y conforme a la concordia.” *Proceso*, MSS.

† “Los quales llegados cerca de la mesa de la camara del consejo, el dicho Don Pedro tomò la mano y dixò con palabras muy alteradas, y perdiendo el respeto al justia con descomedimiento, que ya no se podia vivir, porque ya les rompian los fueros y libertades muy notoriamente, porque se han llevado a la inquisicion el dicho Antonio Perez.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 91., *Deposition of Dr. Torralva*.

‡ “El justia les respondiò, y este que declara que se sosegasen, que ello se havia hecho conforme a fuero . . . por cosas tocantes a la fee, que ansi no se podian detener un punto, sino entregallos como otras vezes se avia hecho.” *Ibid.*, fol. 78., *Deposition of Dr. Chalez*.

descended into the hall of the permanent deputation which used to sit in the same palace. They hurried the deputies into the presence of the chief justice, that they also might address to him the same complaints and the same reclamation. The latter did so, but the chief justice sent them away with the same answer.*

Don Martin de la Nuza, Don Pedro de Bolea, and Don Iban Coscon, seeing that did not succeed in getting the order for delivery revoked by the magistrates, had recourse to the people. They rushed from the palace, crying aloud, *Contra fuero! Liberty for ever! Liberty to the rescue!* † At these cries, and at the sound of the tocsin, which the Prior of La Seu, Don Vincent Augustin ‡, caused to be

* “Y no contentos con esta satisfacion baxaron con grande furia los susodichos a los disputados, diziendo que subiesen los mismos disputados a la corte del justiciã de Aragon, y ansi subieron quatro ò cinco dellos diziendole al justiciã y a su lugartinientes que reparasen aquel daño, porque era mucho y estava todo el pueblo muy alborotado; y el justiciã y lugares tinientes los satisficieron y les dixeron lo proprio que avian dicho a los caballeros de arriba; de la qual platica fueron satisfechos y baxaron a su consistorio.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 78., same Deposition.

† “Fue creciendo el alboroto, y la gente que iba dando voces diziendo: *Viva la libertad y ayuda a la libertad!*” *Ibid.*, fol. 92., Deposition of Dr. Torralva.

‡ “Que fue por mucha parte para el ayuntamiento de gente ser mayor el averse tocado la campana de la Seu, y se dize en la dicha ciudad, y este lo tiene por cierto, que de tocarse la dicha campana fue la causa Don Vincencio Augustin, prior de la Seu.” *Ibid.*

rung, a great insurrection broke out in Saragossa. In a few minutes, a numerous armed multitude had assembled. One part of it, headed by Don Antonio Ferris, Don Pedro de Sese, Don Francisco de la Cavalleria, Don Miguel Torres, and Gil de Mesa, advanced towards the palace of the Inquisition *, whilst another party, led by Don Diego de Heredia, Don Martin de la Nuza, Don Iban Coscon, Don Pedro de Bolea, Don Juan de Aragon, marched towards the residence of the Marquis d'Almenara, to whom they attributed the arrest of Perez, and whom they accused of having plotted against the fueros. †

Seeing this furious crowd arrive, shouting *Liberty for ever! Death to the traitors!* the attendants of the marquis shut the doors of the house and armed themselves. † The rebels, after having tried in vain to burst them open with stones, arquebuses, and madriers, devised an artifice calculated to cause them to be opened. One of the crowd, named Gaspard Burces, pretended that his cousin german, Domingo Burces, who was in the Indies, was there and then shut up, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, in the house of the marquis. So, turning against the latter the law, the violation of which was causing this insurrection, he went and demanded an order of

* Llorente's Collection, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 168., Deposition of Urban de la Serna.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

manifestation for his cousin, which he obtained.* If the marquis did not accede to it, he became a rebel to the justice of Aragon; and if he disobeyed he was lost. But, at that moment, he feared much less to disobey the laws than to surrender to the people. He refused, therefore, to open, and sent to the chief justice to intimate the peril he was in, and demanding assistance. The chief justice, followed by his assessors, and preceded by his mace-bearers, repaired in all haste to the marquis, through the tempestuous multitude of rebels, who, to the number of three or four thousand, besieged his house.† He entered it with Burces, and left Chalez, an assessor, and the oldest of his council, at the door, to prevent ingress.‡

Whilst Burces was hunting for his cousin, who was not to be found, the gentlemen who had fomented the insurrection called on Chalez to have the

* “ Y visto que no se podia entrar la casa . . . tomaron por acuerdo para que se abriese necesariamente que se pidiese manifestacion, fingiendo que en la casa del dicho Marques estava escondido y preso Domingo Gil Burces, y la dicha manifestacion la fueron a pedir y obtuvieron.”—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 169., same Deposition.

† “ Los demas que tenie dichos, con mas de quatro mill hombres que ya se avian juntado, quedaron combatiendo la dicha casa por todas partes.” *Ibid.*

‡ “ Y entraron en la dicha casa, y metieron consigo al Gaspar Burces . . . que avia de reconocer la dicha casa.” *Ibid.*, fol. 169—170. “ Y dixò a la puerta, para que la guardase, a este que declara como mas antiguo del consejo.” *Ibid.*, fol. 79—80. Deposition of Dr. Chalez.

marquis arrested by the chief justice, on pain of being all three considered and prosecuted as traitors.* Witnessing their fury, and intimidated by their menaces, Chalez, from the outside, called the chief justice to the window, and requested him, in the name of the people, to take the marquis into custody.† At those words the rebels shouted again *Liberty for ever!* The chief justice then told them that they were not allowed to utter that cry till they had received the signal from him, and commanded them to retire, on pain of seeing their names taken down by his scrivener, and of being prosecuted for the crime of rebellion.‡ Far from obeying him, they drowned his voice by still louder shouts of *Liberty for ever!*—to which they added *Death to traitors!*—and accompanied them with a few shots from their arquebuses.§ Don Juan de la Nuza, being per-

* “Le requirieron a este que declara que requiriese al justícia sacase preso al Marques, y sino que protestavan contra este y el justícia, y los demas culpados que se lo pidirian.” *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 79, 80.

† “Y ansi le fue forzado de llamar al justícia, diziendole que se pudiese a la ventana, y ansi lo hizò al qual requirìd que prendiese al marques, y lo llevase manifestado, porque esto era lo que convenia para salvar la vida del dicho marques.” *Ibid.*

‡ “Y el dicho justícia les dixò que les requeria se fuesen, donde no que mandaria a su notario que los pusiese por sus nombres, y los causaria resistencia, y los declararia por traidores y comuneros, pues no podian apedillar libertad, sino es apedilando la el.” *Ibid.*, fol. 170. Deposition of Urban de la Serna.

§ “Y ansi el dicho justícia se quitò de la ventana, porque tiraron a ella muchas pedradas y alcabuços.” *Ibid.*

plexed, and yielding to the pressing claims of the people, as he had, just before, done to the will of the king, went and proposed to the marquis to allow himself to be conducted to prison, in order to appease such a formidable commotion. The marquis refused. The chief justice showed himself again at the window, to try to pacify the people, who were breaking down the door with a beam of wood, demanding still more imperiously the arrest of the marquis and his people. "Well," said the chief justice, "do you give me your words as gentlemen, *hidalgos*, and honourable men, that, if I cause them to go out, they will be safe among you?" — "Yes! yes!" replied they.* Don Juan de la Nuza returned to the marquis, whom he found as obstinate as ever in his refusal. He then commanded him, in the king's name, and for the welfare of the kingdom, to follow him.†

At the very moment they were about to go out, the people had broken down the door by battering it with the beam, and were now rushing up stairs.‡

* "Y el dicho justícia les dixò que si le davan la palabra como caballeros, hidalgos y hombres honrados, de que sacando al marques y a sus criados podian ir seguras sus personas? Y todos con grande alarido dixeron que si, y que ansi lo prometian." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 171.

† "Y el dicho marques no queria venir en ello, hasta que el justícia le començo a requerir de parte de Su Magd., dixiendole que ansi convenia a su real servicio, y al bien y sosiego de aquel reyno." *Ibid.*

‡ "Y luego por de fuera con una viga rompieron las puertas

In spite of their rage, they, at first, respected the marquis, who, placed between the chief justice and Torralba, an assessor, passed through their ranks without being insulted or assailed.* The procession, which was flanked by the secretary, steward, and head servant of the marquis, surrounded by the other lieutenants of the chief justice, advanced thus, for some time. But the epithets of *traitor*, *renegade*, *disturber of the kingdom*, applied to the marquis, on his passage, did not suffice the chiefs of the rioters, who wanted to intimidate the future enemies of their privileges. Accordingly, when the escort had arrived before the great church of La Seu, Diego de Heredia and Pedro de Bolea cried out to their men—*He must die! By God, he shall die!* †

Immediately the most violent of the rebels rushed upon the unhappy marquis, knocked him down, tore off his bonnet and hood, with which he tried to cover his head and the upper part of his body, and

de la casa, y entrò grand tropel de gente con espadas desnudas, y otros con alcubuzes." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 171 and 194.

* "Lo llevaron yendo entre el dicho justicia y este que declara." *Ibid.*, fol. 96, Deposition of Torralva. — "Caminarian como cien pasos, sin que hiriesen a nadie ni oviese mas que injurias de palabras." *Ibid.*, fol. 195. Deposition of Lazo Zorrilla.

† "Y en frente de la puerta de la Seu este sintió una voz baxa que decia: '*Muera, cuerpo de Dios!*' . . . Es publica voz y fama en Çaragoça que eran Don Pedro de Bolea y Don Diego de Heredia." *Ibid.*, fol. 195.

wounded him grievously. He was stabbed three times in the head, once in the hand in which he held his sword, which he let fall; and they would have cut his throat, had not some gentlemen defended him and dragged him away. His servants were almost as badly treated as himself.* It was considered too dangerous to conduct him so far as the prison of the Manifestation; so they deposited him, covered all over with wounds and blood, in the old prison, which was on the road, and where, a fortnight afterwards, he died of his wounds.†

Whilst this murderous scene was passing in Saragossa, the other band of rioters that had gone out of the town, and had marched towards the Aljaferia, were demanding the prisoners of the Inquisitors with loud cries. The latter, shut up in their castle, which was very strong, were anything but disposed to yield to these injunctions of rebellion. To force them to do so, Don Pedro de Sese had caused some

* "Y llevando le preso en el camino segun dixeron a este que declara le dieron tres cuchilladas en lo cabeza, y una dellas la mayor el oyò dezir que se la diò Gil de Mesa junto a Santanton . . . y que en el camino por lo mismo le tiraron de cuchilladas d'estocadas y pedradas, hasta quittale la gorra y hacella pedaços, y llevandole sin capatos y sin capa; y si no se ampararan algunos del dicho marques amparandole las cuchilladas y defendiendo las pedradas, antes de llegar à la carcel es cosa muy publica y notoria que le hovieran hecho pedaços y muerto." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 81., Deposition of Chalez.

† "Y estando en la carcel estuvo algunos dias malo, hasta que muriò de las muchas cuchilladas." — *Ibid.* fol. 81.

cart-loads of wood to be brought, which were intended to set fire to the Aljaferia *, and the rebels, who had crowded round the palace of the Holy Office, exclaimed — “Castilian hypocrites, set the prisoners free, or you shall be burned to death, just as you burn others.” † Then it was that the viceroy, Don Jaime Ximeno, alarmed at this insurrection, hastened to the Inquisitors with Doctor Monrreal, an official of Bobadilla, archbishop of Saragossa. The rebels surrounded his carriage, saying to him, in a commanding and threatening tone, “Viceroy, see that they do us justice and defend our liberties.” ‡ “It shall be so, my children,” replied Don Ximeno, “I will obtain justice for you, and your *fueros* shall be respected.” § Accordingly, he exhorted the Inquisitors to restore the prisoners. || Bobadilla, the archbishop, wrote to him on his part — “The house of the Marquis d’Alme-

* “Y mas supò este testigo por cosa notoria que avia mucha cantidad de leña, para querer quemar la dicha casa de la inquisicion.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii., fol. 82. — “Respondiò Gil de Mesa diciendo . . . que Don Pedro de Sese tenia quatrocientas carretadas de leña juntas para quemar la inquisicion.” — *Ibid.*, fol. 166., Deposition of Urban de la Serna.

† *Llorente's Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 393.

‡ “Y los alborotadores se llegaron con las espadas desnudas al coche, y decian a grandes voces : Virrey, haced nos justiciã, y guardad nuestras libertades.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

§ “El qual les respondiò : ‘Fiad, hijos, que yo os harè justiciã, y guardarè vestros fueros y libertades.’” — *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

nara is attacked, and to parry the danger menacing his person, I see no other way than to replace Antonio Perez in the prison of the Manifestados."*

The Inquisitors Hurtado de Mendoza and Morejon appeared disposed towards this act of condescension, which the intractable Molina de Medrano rejected as a weakness unworthy of the ministers of the Inquisition and guardians of the faith. It was decided that the prisoners should be kept †; but the peril soon became greater, and the Counts d'Aranda and de Morata arrived at the Aljaferia to conjure the Inquisitors to yield to the wishes of the people.‡ At the same time, the archbishop sent them a second note, more pressing than the former, and let them know that things were going on worse and worse; that the rioters were waiting till night, in order to set fire to the archbishop's palace, the house of the chief justice, and the Aljaferia, and to abandon themselves to irreparable disorder if Perez was not restored.§ The Inquisitors were deliberating with-

* "La casa del marques estan combatiendo, y no veo otro remedio, para que no peligre su persona, sino que Vs. Ms. buelban a Antonio Perez a la carcel de los Manifestados, pues en entendiendo el pueblo lo que es se podrá tornar à cobrar." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 80.

† "Lo que se passò en la Aljaferia." — *Ibid.*, vol. xiv. t. iv. fol. 12., and another account given by Geronimo de Oro, secretary to the Inquisition, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 53—55.

‡ *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 53—55. *Proceso*, MSS. Relaciones, p. 131.

§ *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 80.

out coming to any decision, when Don Juan Pater-
noy * brought them this third and laconic note, —
“The delivery of Antonio Perez has become indis-
pensable; send him back without delay, and with
precaution, to the prison of the Manifestados.”† He
informed them, at the same time, that the people
had seized and wounded the Marquis d’Almenara.
This time Molina’s obstinacy gave way. Perez and
Mayorini were given up, about five in the evening,
into the hands of the viceroy and the Counts
d’Aranda and Morata. But, although they let them
go, the Inquisitors did not renounce their prose-
cution, but commanded that they should be carefully
guarded, and that they should be in the prison of
the kingdom as if they were in the prison of the
Holy Office.‡

As soon as the people beheld the prisoners they
raised a loud shout of joy. They were placed in a
carriage; but as Perez, when seated, was not visible
to every eye, the viceroy told him to stand up, so
that every body might see him and be sure that
he was there.§ It was a truly triumphal march for

* Llorente’s Collection, vol. xiii. t. i. fol. 78.

† “El bolber a Antonio Perez es tanta fuerça como se vee
sin mas dilacion, vuestras mercedes le buelban con seguridad
que entre en la carcel de los Manifestados.” — Ibid. fol. 80.

‡ Ibid. fol. 81.

§ “El virrey hizò, que Ant. Perez fuesse en pié en el coche,
de suerte que fuesse visto de todos, y desta manera fue hasta la
carcel de la Manifestacion.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

Perez from the Aljaferia to the prison of the Manifestados. The crowd followed him transported and shouting for joy, pressing around him and crying out — “ Señor Antonio Perez, when you are in prison, show yourself three times a day at the window, that we may see you, and thus prevent them from violating our liberties and fueros.”* As soon as Perez had been replaced under the guard of the justicia mayor, the insurrection was appeased.

* “ Y por el camino le iban diciendo : ‘ Señor Ant. Perez, quando estubieres en la carcel, tres veces el dia os poned en la ventana, para que os veamos, porque no nos hagan algun agravio, de suerte que se quiebren las nuestras libertades y fueros.’ ” — *Proceso*, MSS.

CHAPTER V.

INQUIRY INTO THE TROUBLES OF SARAGOSSA. — NEW AND CLEVERLY CONCERTED ATTEMPT TO REPLACE PEREZ IN THE HANDS OF THE INQUISITION. — INSURRECTION OF THE 24TH OF SEPTEMBER, AND FINAL DELIVERANCE OF PEREZ.

THE victory gained on the 24th of May 1591, by the people of Saragossa, over the Inquisition, was any thing but decisive. Philip, who had held Perez fast again for a moment, was not likely to allow him to be dragged from his grasp a second time; besides, he could not suffer this contempt for the Holy Office, and this defeat of his authority. Still he did nothing in a hurry. Besides the habitual slowness of his resolutions in matters of moment, he had, at that time, reasons for not giving way to the anger which he felt on hearing of the success of this popular revolt. Being at war with the Turks in the Mediterranean; having to defend himself upon the ocean against the English, who were attacking his American colonies, and the coasts of Spain, to revenge themselves for his projected invasion of their island by the famous Armada in 1588; ever exposed, in Portugal, to the incursions of Don Antonio de Crato, who, at the head of an army, had already twice

attempted to dispossess him of that kingdom; obliged in the Netherlands to carry on a desperate and ruinous struggle with the insurgents of the seven united provinces; induced by party interests and schemes of dominion to support with his money and soldiers the catholic league in France, which had much difficulty in resisting the victorious arms of Henry IV., he would not have liked the list of such numerous and formidable enemies to be augmented by others in the very interior of his dominions. The insurrection of a kingdom like that of Aragon, whose position was so strong, whose inhabitants were considered warlike, and whose laws were the object of an obstinate and universal attachment, seemed to him able to shake his power and endanger his various enterprises.

On these grounds he was disposed to show clemency, if the Aragonese returned to their obedience. The latter were the less unwilling to do so, as they had no great confidence in their strength. Having been accustomed, for seventy-five years, to enjoy their rights under the Castilian dynasty, without having had to defend them, they knew not whether they would be able to maintain them sword in hand. They were afraid of losing everything by asking too much. Both sides were, therefore, inclined towards a compromise, which, under a deceptive form, gave satisfaction to the king, without wounding the pride of the Aragonese; and preserved the apparent exer-

cise of the right of *manifestation*, by subjecting it in reality to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office.

The utility of this compromise must have appeared so much the more evident to Philip, as Don Pedro Pacheco, the Inquisitor, after beginning, in July 1591, a secret inquiry at Madrid * into the riots of the 24th of May, discovered some projects calculated to awaken the suspicions of this prince. Don Pedro Pacheco received the depositions of eighteen witnesses †, among whom were the two lieutenants of the *justicia mayor*, Doctors Geronimo Chalez and Juan Francisco Torralba, who had been deprived of their functions as assessors, and obliged to leave Saragossa for having shown themselves hostile to Perez ‡; three of the principal servants of the Marquis d'Almenara, Antonio Añon, the page of Perez, and his denunciator Diego Bustamente, so long attached to his person and so well placed to know his designs.

* This inquiry fills the whole of Book iii. in vol. xiv. of Llorente's Collection.

† Llorente's Collection, vol. xiv. t. iii., fol. 15—220.

‡ “. . . Avian sido desterrados del reino dos jueces de la corte del gran justicia de Aragon. . . Micer Chalez y micer Torralba, en la resedencia que se teniò en el mismo tiempo, de la qual quieren decir que avia resultado que estos jueces y el marques de Almenara se entendian, y que ellos no guardaban el fuero, lo quebraban ò dissimulaban y fueron condenados en el juicio de la residencia, el qual consta de 17 ciudadanos, los quales salen por suertes, y esto se hace todas las veces que ai quien denuncio.” — *Proceso*, MSS. *Relaciones*, pp. 237, 238.

In a curious deposition, this man declared "that the pride and arrogance of Perez were such, that he heard him say, at the time he was with him, that he would be free at the first Cortes in which the king would figure, and that he would then claim from him the restitution of those two hundred thousand ducats of which he had wronged him, and also that he would force him to alter the tenor of the abandonment of legal proceedings which he had given in at Saragossa.* He added "that he would go to the Cortes with showy housings, which were to have four parts: the corners were to be painted to represent irons and chains; the middle was to be embellished with a picture of the rack ready prepared; and the border was to be filled up with fortresses and prisons; and round about the picture of the rack were to be Latin devices with *gloriosa pro præmio* above, *decora pro fide* below, with this device and the Castilian words *barato, desengaño* (fraud, undeceived), in the centre. The explanation of these devices and the meaning of the other emblems were set forth by

* "Que era tanta y es su soberbia y arrogancia, que le oyò dezir en el tiempo que estava con el que avia de hallarse libre a las primeras Cortes, en que estoviesse el rey nuestro señor, y que avia de pedirle restituyese dozientos mil ducados que le avia hecho de daño, y asi mismo avia de hazer que reformase el tenor de la separacion que Su Magd. avia hecho en Zaragoza." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 72.

him in a very insulting manner.* He had these emblems and devices of his housings sketched on a paper by the medium of Master Besante, who teaches grammar. Deponent gave eight reals, by order of Antonio Perez, to the said Besante, for him to give them to the painter who had drawn, on the paper, the said housings, with his colours, blue and brown. He said, moreover, that he would have a large lamp placed in Notre-Dâme del-pilar, superior to all those that were there, and in silver, on the outside of which, and round it, there should be this Latin inscription: *Captivus pro evasione ex voto rediit: majora rediturus pro uxoris natorumque liberatione de populo barbaro irâque regis iniqui et de potestate judicum, semen Chanaan.* This lamp was to be offered by him in honour of his escape from Castile.”†

* “Decia que avia de yr a las Cortes con unos reposteros los quales avian de ser en quatro partes. Las esquinas del repostero pintadas grillos y cadenas, y en el medio tendido un potro, y por la orla castillos y carzeles, y junto al potro unas letras que dixeren *gloriosa pro premio* en lo alto, y en lo baxo *decora pro fide*, y en el medio una letra en Castellano que dixese *barato, desengaño*. Y la declaracion de la dichas letras y significacion de las demas cosas era muy descomedida segun el la declarava.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 72.

† “Y esta traça de reposteros y letras la hizò sacar en un papel por medio del maestro Besante, que lee gramatica . . . Y este que declara diò ocho reales por mandado del dicho Ant. Perez al dicho Besante, para que se diese al pintor que avia puesto en un papel con sus colores azules y amarillos la muestra de los dichos reposteros. Y tambien decia que en

But this was the most serious item in the deposition of Diego Bustamente, who, however, only denounced expressions and projects anterior to the insurrection of Saragossa. "The whole was related by the said Antonio Perez in insolent proud language directed against the king our master and his ministers.* He used to say that Marcus Crassus had been concealed for six months in a cavern; after which he had triumphed over his enemies; that a day might come when Don Iñigo (meaning the Marquis d'Almenara) would be too happy to run away as fast as his horse could gallop; and that Rodrigo Vasquez, whom he did not call president, would not find a hiding-place. All this was accompanied with threats of insurrections and troubles in Spain, saying that the Duke of Savoy would ruin himself also, through his restless ambition; and that all Italy kept an eye upon him; that Vendôme (Henry IV.) would ultimately be the monarch of all; that he was a great prince, governing to the satisfaction of everybody; and that if Aragon took his advice, *that kingdom would make*

nuestra Señora del Pilar avia de poner una lampara grande, mayor que ninguna de las que alli estavan de plata, y por de fuera en un cerco al derredor avia de estar una letra en Latin que dixese: *Captivus pro evasione, &c.* La qual lampara decia que avia de poner en razon de averse huydo de Castilla." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 72.

* "Lo qual todo decia el dicho Ant. Perez con palabras insolentes y soberias contra el rey nuestro señor y sus ministros." *Ibid.*

*itself a republic, in the same manner as Venice or Genoa, thus escaping from Castile, the whole of which would follow the example of that kingdom; and that, if their strength was inadequate to succeed in this point against the king our master, they might give themselves up to France, by whom they would be received with open arms, and with whatever conditions they thought proper to make.**

“Moreover, deponent, in his many visits to the dwelling of Antonio Perez, saw and heard him discuss and concert with Don Pedro de Bolea and Don Juan de Luna, not with both at once, but successively, with each of them apart; and Perez said to deponent and the others, that those who served him might be of good courage, and should not make themselves

* “Y decia que Marco Craso avia estado seys meses escondido en una cueva, y despues avia triunfado de sus enemigos, y que podria serque viniere tiempo en que D. Inigo (diziendo lo por el Marques de Almenara) tuviere a buena suerte escaparse a uña de cavallo, y que Rodrigo Vasquez, al qual no llamava presidente, no hallaria cueva donde se poder esconder, toto esto amenazando rebueltas y alborotos en España; y decia que el duque de Saboya tambien se avia de perder porque se queria levantar demasiado, y que toda Italia le traya sobre ojo, y que Vandoma avia de venir a ser monarca de todo, y que era gran principe y gobernaria muy a gusto de todos, y que, si Aragon le creyese, se haria republica, como Venezia ô Genova, y asi saldria de Castilla, y que aquel reyno seguiria todo la corona de Aragon, y en caso que no tuviesen fuerzas contra el rey nuestro señor para salir con esto, se podrian dar a Francia, adonde los abraçarian con las condiciones que ellos quisieren pedir.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 72.

uneasy; because, when that time came, he would make them people of consequence. Perez fancied that he was then on the point of having an important share in the administration, and that the government would be placed under his direction.*

This declaration is dated the 25th of August, and Diego Bustamente had made another on the 23rd of July, in which he spoke of the strict correspondence that Perez kept up with his friend Don Balthazar Alamos de Barientos, in Castile, and of the hopes which they cherished of a rebellion in that very part of Spain — “Take courage,” wrote Don Balthazar to Perez, “God turns on our side; our cause is good; the plagues fall upon Pharaoh . . . Let your Lordship be firm; for God takes you as his champion, like Moses, in order to chastise the hard heart of this Pharaoh.” † Diego Bustamente added, that Don Balthazar informed Perez that he was far advanced

* “Este que declara entrando y saliendo algunas vezes en el aposento del dicho Ant. Perez, viò y entendió que tratava con Don Pedro de Bolea y con Don Juan de Luna, no juntos los dos, sino diversas vezes cada uno de por si, y decia a este y a los demas sus criados que los que le seguian y servian tuviesen buen animo y no se cansasen, porque, quando este tiempo llegasse, los haria hombres, porque el dicho Ant. Perez se persuadia que avia de tener entódo mucha mano y que por su caveza se havian de gobernar.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 73.

† “Animo, señor, que Dios buelve por nos otros; buena va nuestra causa; plagas vienen sobre Pharaon. . . . V. M. no desmaye, pues Dios le toma por sujeto como a Moyses, para castigar la dureza de Pharaon.” *Ibid.*, fol. 73.

in a translation of Tacitus, in which, under the names of Tiberius and Sejanus, he touched upon many points of present history, which would be indicated to *friends* by an asterisk serving as a *nota bene*, in order that they might understand them.* Finally, Diego Bustamente, to quote his own words, said — “ They used to write to each other sundry memorials on State affairs; on their hopes of rebellions in Aragon, and even in Castile; a thousand things about France, Pope Sextus V., Venice, and other matters.” †

These were illusions proceeding from a mind infatuated with pride, ambition, and vengeance. Still these dreams of Perez seemed to have assumed a real and formidable shape by the sedition at Saragossa. Accordingly, Philip accepted, without hesitation, the arrangement that was offered to him by the principal Aragonese after many debates and much irresolution. The latter had, at first, thought of sending an embassy to the pope, that he might preserve their

* “Dezia mas en otra carta que andava ya muy adelante la traduccion del Cornelio Tacito, y que debajo destes nombres Tiberio y Seyano tocava muchos puntos de la historia, porque no se tardasse tanto en salir en publico algo que entendiesen los amigos, y que seria la señal una estrella en la margen.” — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 73.

† “ Muchas otras cosas se escrivan como discursos de Estado, esperanzas de rebeliones en Aragon y aun en Castilla, de cosas de Francia, del papa (que era Sixto) y de Venezia y otras.” *Ibid.* fol. 73.

fueros, formerly consecrated by the approbation and support of the Holy See, from the encroachments of the Inquisition. But this project was not carried out * ; and the members of the permanent deputation of the kingdom adopted another. † They convoked an assembly, at first of four, but later of thirteen juriconsults ‡, who were to examine and interpret the fueros, in the dispute raised by the people against the court of the *justicia mayor* and the tribunal of the Holy Office. These thirteen juriconsults declared that the right of the *manifestation* of prisoners could only expire by means of the sentence of the *justicia mayor* § ; that, consequently, to *annul* it, as the Inquisitors had done, was a *contra fuero* ; but that to *suspend* it, was not so ; and that if by new letters

* “. . . Les a parecido grande ecceso la dicha embaxada, como en particular me lo an representado oy Don Diego de Eredia y Don Martin de la Nuça.” Letter from Geronimo de Oro to the Inquisitors, *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 96.

† Geronimo de Oro, one of the members of the permanent deputation, and at the same time secretary to the Inquisition, gives us some very curious details upon what passed at Saragossa from the 10th of August to the 24th of September, 1591, in his letters addressed to the Inquisitors of Aragon.” *Ibid.*, t. v. fol. 80—126.

‡ “Oy se an juntado los señores y cavalleros, y pareciendo nos que los *letrados* que ayer se juntaron eran pocos por no ser sino *quatro*, havemos oy juntado *treze*.”—Letter from Geronimo de Oro, August 13, *Ibid.*, fol. 96.

§ “Por que la manifestacion no puede espirar sino por sentencia definitiva.” *Ibid.*

the Inquisitors claimed the prisoners again, the lieutenants of the chief justice, *in spite of the manifestation*, would be obliged to give them up.* This interpretation of the fueros was an act of weakness. The violation of the most precious of its privileges was not less real for being indirect; whether the *manifestation* was suspended or annulled, the prisoners did not the less lose the three great guarantees that they found in Aragonese justice; namely, a public procedure regulated by evidence, liberty on proper security, and a prompt judgment. They were handed over to the jurisdiction of a secret tribunal, which could put them to the torture, in order to supply the deficiency of proofs by confessions, and keep them in its dungeons till they were able to send them to the stake.

The permanent deputation and the high court of justice of Aragon admired this interpretation of the fueros, which helped them out of their embarrassing position.† Counts d'Aranda, De Morata, De Sastago, the Duke of Villahermosa, as well as most of the barons and gentry, likewise approved of it, and the magistrates of the city of Saragossa promised to

* "Ymbian las letras segundas en que piden estos dos hombres, no obstante qualquiera manifestacion, sin dezir mas estan obligados los lugartenientes a darlos sin lesion de los fueros."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 98.

† "Havemos estado en consistorio y los treze letrados de ayer an firmado la consulta." *Ibid.*

it. Lastly, the friends of Perez themselves appeared to submit to it. Don Pedro de Bolea and Don Antonio Ferris presented themselves before the assembly of deputies to express in their name, and in the name of Don Fernando d'Aragon, Don Martin de la Nuza, Don Martin de Bolea, Don Juan Coscón, Don Philip de Castro, Don Diego de Heredia, Manuel Don Lope, and several others, the desire they had of serving the king and facilitating the tranquillity of the kingdom. They even attempted to persuade Perez that it was better for him to renounce the privilege of the manifestation, and to surrender himself voluntarily to the prison of the Holy Office, as the only means to induce them to show mercy towards him, if he had committed any transgression. They added that his friends would otherwise be ruining themselves without being able to serve him.*

* "Los amigos de Antonio Perez tratan, segun me ha dicho D. Juan, de que renuncie la manifestacion, y se vaya por su pie a meterse en esto santo oficio, y hecharse a los pies de Va. Sa., y sé que lo trata esto con grandissima instancia Don Diego de Heredia, persuadido a que es el mejor medio para que se use con el de misericordia, si alguna culpa tiene."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii. fol. 104. "Trabaje con el de reducirle a que voluntariamente se entregasse . . . que por este camino obligaria mucho a los señores juezes, y que lo contrario seria obligar los a uzar con el de todo rigor; que sus amigos se perderian sin se poder gañar ni valer, y que llegando al punto no sin prudencia podria ser le desconociesen por veer no seria de fruto su sali da."—*Deposition of Juan Basante*. Ibid., vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 50.

Perez took good care not to follow this advice. "None of those who love me," he replied, "can seriously give me this counsel. To surrender myself to the Inquisition would be to complete the loss of my life and honour. Molina, who sits among them, is my deadly enemy, and would willingly shed his blood to drink mine; so much he thirsts for it. If he had not been among them, I should, long ago, have given myself up to Morejon, who would examine and judge my affair dispassionately. Let the Cardinal of Toledo name him along with two other impartial judges; I will present myself gladly before them, and then let them chastise me, if I am an heretic. God knows that I am not, and that I have never been. Therefore it is not justice that I shun, but the passion of the judges, which has ever persecuted me." *

Perez had been attacked with a fever in consequence of so many emotions and the prospect of the

* "Ninguno que bien me quiera tal me aconseje, porque mi yda a la Inquisicion no es sino para acabar con la vida y con la honrra. Y mas estanda alli Molina, mi capital enemigo, que derramaria su sangre por beber de la mia, tan sediento esta della. Si ese no estuviera ay, yo me huviera ya entregado mil dias ha en manos de Morejon o de otro que sin passion mirara mis cosas y conociera dellas. Nombre me el Cardinal de Toledo a Morejon y a otros dos desapasionados ministros, que yo me entregaré muy de grado; y si soy hereje, me castiguen. Mas sabe Dios que no lo soy ni he sido; y asi yo no huyo de la justicia, sino de la passion de ministros que siempre esta me ha perseguido." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xiv. t. iii.

new danger which threatened him. Nevertheless, he did not allow himself to be disheartened; and he displayed so much the more activity, resolution, and, skill as his situation appeared more desperate. He composed several pamphlets or *pasquinades*, as they were then called, and spread them among the people, to keep up their agitation and dispose them once more to an insurrection.* The violence of the Inquisitors, the weakness of the chief-justice, the disloyalty of the jurisconsults, the illegality of their decision, the antiquity of the *fueros* compared with the recent introduction of the Inquisition, the necessity of defending them on this occasion, upon pain of losing them for ever, such were the themes of these little articles, which, under the various forms of dialogue, discussion, irony, and invocation, he addressed to the people, who read them with avidity. One of these pamphlets was a dialogue between the kingdom of Aragon, under the name of Celtiberia, and the deputies, her sons. The kingdom said to the deputies: "O kind supporters of my rights, ramparts of my liberties, firm columns of the sacred *fueros*, O dear sons of a happy mother, so destined by the finger of God to restore my honour already put up for auction, to-day your mother asks you to take care of the welfare of the whole nation, and to remain firm

* These pamphlets are to be found partly in book v. of vol. xv. fol. 59—70. in Llorente's Collection. Others are quoted in the deposition of Basante, vol. xvi. t. viii.

under the discipline of her laws." He told them afterwards, that the king had a right to this kingdom only as long as he observed the *fueros* to which he had sworn; and, that the *fueros* having been infringed on the day when the rights of *manifestation* had been violated by the forcible removal of prisoners placed under its protection, they might, conformably to the customs of their ancestors, elect a new king who might preserve their liberties.*

Whilst he was endeavouring to excite the people by his acts, he addressed a hasty note to the tribunal of the *justicia mayor*, to refute the interpretation which the *jurisconsults* had given of the *fueros*, and to place himself under its safeguard. Obtaining no answer, and fearful of being carried off, some moment or other, he wrote, on the 4th of September, to the members of that supreme court:

* "O dulce amparo de las leyes, muralla fuerte de mis libertades, columnos firmes de los santos *fueros*, atlantes deste cielo y firmamento, o caros hijos por mi bien nacidos, y del dedo de Dios hoy señalados para restauracion del honor mio que estava ya muy puesto en almoneda, hoy quiere vuestra madre con vos otros tener un dulce rato, y os encarga que cuydando del bien de todo del pueblo, oygays con atencion mi disciplina . . . Trayendo les a la memoria . . . que su Magd. tenia derecho a estos reynos mientras les guardasse sus *fueros* que tenia jurados y que violados estos, como lo estaban violada la *carcel de la Manifestacion*, y sacado della preso, tenian facultad y tal se le concedian sus *fueros* para poder elegir nuevo rey que les conservasse sus libertades." — *Llorente's Collection*, another deposition of *Basante*, vol. xvi. t. viii. fol. 1.

“ Most illustrious Señores,

“ Antonio Perez submits to your attention that he had noted a series of points to compose a memorial in form, to hand to your lordships, begging and requiring you to undertake his defence, conformably to the privilege and duty of your dignity and functions: his perils and risks becoming as pressing as ever was seen, and increasing to such a degree, that he might evidently fear not to have the time to copy a page, much less to draw up a memorial with the decency and respect due to such a tribunal, since he was never sure, at any moment, of not being carried off, he had addressed to your lordships in lieu of memorial and request a simple narrative of facts terminating with six lines expressive of the anguish of his soul, his honour, and his very life.

“ In this situation, seeing no measure taken for the objects he has stated, he continues to fear lest some moment or other, night or morning, even his person may no longer be found, and he may have neither breath nor voice to utter in your presence the demands necessary for his safety. For this reason, and seeing that nobody is bold enough to defend him, and draw up a memorial in his favour, he presents to your lordships the same memorial which he now reminds you he had already presented on a former day. He requires and beseeches your lordships, by all the ties which bind you towards God, men, and

the kingdom, whose grandeur, whose fueros, and whose ancient constitution have been entrusted to your care; he entreats you, moreover, by what you are, and by the seat you occupy, to order the examination of this memorial, and especially to consider the obligation which the fueros impose on your lordships, to come to the aid of his person and all the liberties which are endangered by the persecution he endures.*

* "Antonio Perez dize que el tenia hecho un apuntamiento de cabos para dellos formar un memorial en forma, para dara V. SS. y supplicarles y requirirles acudiesen a su defensa, segun fuero y obligacion de su lugar y oficio; y apretandose quanto se ha visto sus peligros y aventuras en tanto grado y aventura, que evidentemente pudò temer que no le quadaria tiempo para copia un pliego de papel, quanto mas para formar memorial con la consideracion y reverencia que a ese consistorio se deve dar, pues no avia hora segura que no temiese ser arrebatado, embió a V. SS. con esta priessa y rebatto por memorial y demanda el tal papel de advertimientos con poner al remate del seys renglones del alma y de la honrra y de la vida. Y porque no vee provision ninguna sobre tales puntos . . . teme que de una hora a otra, y de la noche a la mañana, no parecera ni su persona ny le quedera resuello con que pronunciar las demandas ante V. SS. para su remedio necesarias. Presenta a V. SS. (por estas razones y por faltarle quien se atreba a defenderle ni formarle un memorial) el mismo papel que ha referido arriba que dió el otro dia. Pide y suplica a V. SS. por todas las obligaciones que tienen a Dios y a las gentes y a este reyno (cuyo amparo y conservacion de sus fueros y estado antiguo estan a su cargo,) y por quien V. SS. son, y por su lugar, manden considerar todo ese memorial y la obligacion que los fueros ponen a V. SS. a salir a la defensa desta persona y de todas las libertades que en el y por sus persecuciones se ponen en aventura."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvii. t. x. fol. 2.

He eloquently conjured them not to deliver him up to the Inquisition, before having seen juridically whether the compact made between the kingdom and the Holy Office, at the time when the latter was established in Aragon, did not oppose it: a compact which they might go and fetch at his expense from Rome, if it was not to be found at Saragossa; nor before having verified the act of the Cortes of 1585, which placed *sub judice*, every attempt made by the Inquisition against the fueros, or the persons of individuals: "I demand it," said he, "in all the best forms and manners that I can, according to the fuero and the laws; I demand it in the name of my unmerited misfortunes, which are, after God and men, the best titles, the best intercessors, that I can present; I demand it in the name of Heaven and Divine Justice; and I demand it in the name of this whole kingdom, which is suffering in me and for me."*

But the chief justice and his assessors remained deaf to the supplications of Pérez. Their determination was taken; they were making all preparations to transport him, without trouble or risk, to the Aljaferia. Seeing that all hope was lost, Pérez

* "Y pidolo en todas aquellas mejores formas y maneras que de fuero y de derecho lo puedo pedir, y pidolo en nombre de mis agravios que son, despues del cielo y de las gentes, los meritos y medianeros que puedo presentar; pidolo en nombre del cielo y de la justicia divina, y pidolo en nombra de todo este reyno que en my y por my padeze todo." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvii. t. x. fol. 3.

then thought no longer of any thing but of escaping from the prison of the Manifestados, as he had escaped, a year and a half before, from the prison at Madrid. He concerted this project with Gil de Mesa, Don Martin de la Nuza, Thomas de Rueda, Christoval Frontin, Francisco de Ayerbe, Dyonisio Perez de San Juan, and Juan de Aynsa, who had remained faithfully attached to him. With the help of a file which they procured him, he sawed through the iron-grating of his window. He worked at it for three nights. One night more and the bars of the prison gave way, and allowed him a free passage. He was just on the point of gaining his liberty, and already thought he was sure of it, when the perfidious Juan de Basante, who knew all from Perez himself, informed the Fathers Arbiol, Roman, Escriva, and Garcès, of the company of Jesus, who engaged him to inform the Inquisitors.* The latter

* "Y no teniendo esperanza de remedio, trató con sus amigos y valedores que fueron Gil de Mesa, D. Martin de la Nuza, Thomas de Rueda, Christoval Frontin, Francisco de Ayerbe, Dyonisio Perez de San Juan y Juan de Aynsa, de escaparse de la carcel. Y aviendo intentado varios medios, al fin vinieron a dar en uno a su parecer mas facil que fue limar el hierro de una rexa, per donde a prima noche se escapase. Començó se la obra y llevó se tan adelante, que ya no faltava un canto de cuchillo para acarbarla. . . . Acudi a los padres de la compañía de Jesus y suplique al padre rector me oyese dos palebras en confession. . . . Al fin se resolvieron el padre rector Arbiol, el padre Roman, el padre Francisco Escriva, y el padre Garcès, que yo estava obligado a dar parte de todo esto al santo oficio." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol xvi. t. vii. fol. 48, 49. Deposition of Basante.

gave notice to the justicia mayor, who came and surprised Perez amid his preparations for escape, and had him more closely confined in another part of the prison.*

This attempt to escape having failed, Perez remained at the mercy both of the Inquisitors and the king. Philip had taken care to secure to his authority the support of the deputies, judges, and principal nobles of Aragon, by sending them proofs of his satisfaction and good will. He had written in the most affectionate terms to Count de Aranda and other personages †, whose heads he was to chop off somewhat later, to back, with their relations and friends, the measure about to be taken by the viceroy, to secure the removal of Perez. This event was fixed for Tuesday, the 24th of September. Geronimo de Oro, who was, at the same time, member of the permanent deputation and secretary to the Holy Office, wrote, on the 20th, to the Inquisitor Molina: "The viceroy has great hopes that all will pass as peaceably as can be desired, as well on account of the assurances he has received from almost all the gentry, as those which he has obtained

* "Fue rechuydo Ant. Perez y puesto en nuevos estrechuras por esta fraction."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 50.

† "... Del duque de Villahermosa, del conde de Aranda, de otros los mas de los aqui en avia escrito el rey agradescimiento."—*Relaciones de Ant. Perez*, p. 164. *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 340.

from the peasants in the quarter of the Magdalena, who, as he tells me, have offered themselves to him with expressions of repentance; so that, owing to these circumstances and the occupations of the vintage, I have the greatest confidence that every thing will be effected without any disturbance.*

In consequence of the arrangements agreed on, and the measures determined beforehand, the Inquisitors, on the 23rd, drew up a new mandate to compel the *justicia mayor* and the lieutenants of his court, to deliver Perez and Mayorini to the Holy Office. This mandate was conceived in the ordinary terms; but the Inquisitors had taken care not to wound the susceptibility of the Aragonese, by refraining from pronouncing, as they had done in the former, the repeal of the privilege of the *Manifestados*.† It was carried by *Lanceman de Sola*, the secretary, between ten and eleven in the morning of the 24th, to the chief justice, who was already on his bench surrounded by his five lieutenants.‡ The chief justice

* "Tiene el dicho virrey grandísima esperanza de que a ser ello con la quietud que se desea, así por la seguridad que tiene de casi todos los cavalleros, como por la que tiene de los labradores de la parroquia de la Madalena, que me ha dicho que se le an ymbiado a ofrecer reconociendose, de manera que con esto y con la ocupacion de la vendimia yo tengo la mejor esperanza de que todo se hará con quietud."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 119.

† *Ibid.*, vol xv. t. v fol. 126.

‡ "... Entre las diez y las onze horas antes de medio dia,

immediately ordered the deputies of the kingdom of Aragon and the councillors of the city of Saragossa to be assembled, in order to confer with them. Two deputies, Don Juan de Luna and Miguel Turlan, and two councillors, Bucle Metelin and Lazaro de Orera, repaired to the council-hall, followed by many citizens.* Then the lieutenant, Martin Baptista de la Nuza, rising to speak, explained the whole affair, discussed the question of right, and finally agreed, conformably to the decision of the juriconsults, and the demand of the Inquisitors, that Perez and Mayorini should be taken from the prison of the *Manifestation*, and transported to that of the Holy Office.† The chief justice and his assessors having adopted these conclusions, the deputies, jurats, and those who accompanied them, gave their assent with a loud voice.‡ After the judges and representatives of Aragon had thus coincided in opinion with the

estando juntos en la sala del cousejo Don Juan de la Nuza, justicia de Aragon, etc."—*Relacion de Lanceman de Sola, Llorente's Collection*, vol xv. t. v. fol. 127.

* "Mandaron llamar a los diputados del reino y jurados de de la ciudad de Caragoça. . . Parescieron en la sala del consejo Inigo Bucle Metelin y micer Laçaro de Orera jurado segundo y terçero de la dicha ciudad, y Don Juan de Luna y Miguel Turlan diputados del reino, con muchos ciudadanos y otras personas."—*Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*, fol. 127, 128.

‡ "Los dichos diputados, jurados, y los demas que con ellos havian venido en conformidad, dixeron que se cumpliesse asi, y en presencia y son aprobacion de todos."—*Ibid.*, fol. 128.

magistrates of Saragossa, they proceeded to execute a final legal formality.

The lieutenant *micer* Gerardo Claveria ascended the tribunal*, opened the proceedings, and, after Juan de Mendibe had read the papers, pronounced the sentence of delivery in presence of the advocates, the procurators, and the public, whom he called upon to escort and assist him.† Then the lieutenant Claveria, preceded by the mace-bearers of the supreme court, the two deputies, Luis Sanchez Cucanda, dean of Teruel, and Michael Turlan, with the jurat Ingo Bucle Metelin, having also their mace-bearers before them, issued from the palace of the deputation, followed by a considerable crowd.‡ In front marched a troop of arquebusiers, and in the rear was the governor with the horse-guards of the kingdom. In this order they advanced towards the residence of the viceroy, where the civil and criminal counsellors of the latter were assembled, with the Duke de Villahermosa, the Counts de Aranda, de Sagoto, de Morata, and many lords and gentlemen surrounded by their vassals, and all armed.§

* "Micer Gerardo Claveria salió al tribunal, y en el tubó publicamente la corte ordinaria estando en ella mucho numero de procuradores y otras personas."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 128.

† "Y requirió a todos los procuradores y otras personas que e siguiessen . . . y le diessen consejo, favor y ayuda."—*Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, fol. 129.

§ " . . . Llebando delante muchos arcabuzeros, y en la reta-

The latter joined them, and they marched onward, in the most imploring attitude, and with a very warlike demeanour, towards the the market-place *, which, as well as the principal streets, had been occupied by troops ever since three o'clock in the morning.† On their arrival the lieutenant Claveria, the deputy Miguel Turlan, and the jurat Inigo Bucle Metelin, separated from the procession, and entered the prison of the Manifestados, in order to deliver Perez and Mayorini into the hands of Alonzo de Herrera, the alguazil of the Holy Office.‡

guarda el governador con la guarda de a caballo del reino. Y desta suerte fueron hasta la posada del virrey, adonde estaban con el sus consejeros civil y criminal, y el regente de la real chancilleria, y el duque de Villahermosa, los condes de Sastago, Aranda, y Morata, con mucho numero de caballeros, señores de vasallos, y otra gente principal, todos armados."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 129.

* "Salieron todos en ordenança de casa del dicho virrey, delante los arcabuçeros, etc., . . . y desta suerte fueron hasta la plaça del mercado."—*Ibid.*, fol. 129, 130.

† ". . . . Aviendo el governador desde las tres de la mañana tomado los puestos de todo el mercado con mucha gente que para esto tenia."—*Ibid.*, Deposition of Basante, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 52.

‡ "Y habiendo entrado en la carcel de los Manifestados el dicho lugarteniente miçer Claveria con el dicho Miguel Turlan diputado, Inigo Bucle Metelin jurado de Saragoça con sus maceros, y maças alçadas . . . y aviendo el dicho lugarteniente entregado a Alonzo de Herrera y Guzman alguazil del santo oficio, en presencia de mi el dicho secretario . . . las personas de Antonio Perez y J. Francesco Mayorini."—*Ibid.*, fol. 130.

This time Perez seemed lost. Still he was not entirely destitute of hope. Mayorini, who dabbled in astrology, had predicted that his tribulations would end during the moon of September; and Gil de Mesa had written to him, the night before, to tell him to fear nothing, but to rely on the assistance of his friends.* This intrepid Aragonese had reanimated the expiring ardour and drooping courage of those who, in taking up the cause of Perez, meant only to defend their own rights. He had said, a few days before, to Basante: "I swear to God that, though every body desert Perez, I will not forsake him; no, I will sally out and fight them, though they be a hundred thousand strong, and sacrifice myself in his cause by dying to obtain justice. . . . I will take away his life, as he told me to do, rather than see him in the hands of the Inquisition. Moreover, Don Martin de la Nuza has offered to accompany me with armed and resolute servants (*lacayos*) †; Don Diego (de Heredia) is proceeding in the business with some design or other, but I believe he will do his duty as

* "El qual halle con esperanças que el suceso seria bonissimo así por las que Gil de Mesa dava por sus villetes, como por tener entendido de Juan Francesco Mayorini que en la luna de Setiembre se avian de acabar sus trabajos."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 51.

† "*Lacayo*, criado de librea.—Lacayos se llamaban en lo antiguo los soldados ligeros de a pie o ciertos camaradas o escuderos que acompañaban a los caballeros y hombres ricos en las funciones de empeño, o en la guerra."—*Dic. de la Acad. Españ.*

a gentleman; we have sent also to Don Juan de Torrellas, and he has offered to aid us with brave fellows. I swear to you then, once more, that, if the Inquisition returns to the charge, the very deaf shall be made to hear us. All the vassals of the Count de Fuentes and all those of the other lords, when they will hear us cry *liberty!* will take our part. Let them march then, let them come, I am burning to be at them.”*

What Gil de Mesa had foretold was fulfilled to the letter. On the morning of the 24th of September, Don Diego de Heredia and Don Martin de la Nuza had assembled in the house of Don Juan de Torrellas, with the men brought by the latter, and Gil de Mesa had taken up his post in the house of Don Diego de Heredia, with a troop of *lacayos* full of courage and resolution. † At the very moment they were putting

* “Yo le voto a Dios de que, quando todos falten, no avra en mi falta, sino que saldré a esa plaça a chocar con cien mil que sean, y a sacrificarme en su servicio y morir en la demanda, y que, quando otro no pueda, yo mismo le quite la vida, como el me ha dicho, antes que yo le vea en la inquisicion; quanto mas que me ha ofrecido D. Martin de la Nuza de acompañarme con muy valientes lacayos. D. Diego anda no sé con que artificios, pero creo que lo hará como caballero. Hemos despachado a D. Juan de Torrellas, y ha ofrecido de acudir con muy buena gente. Y yo juro otra vez que si ella se rebuelve, que nos oyran los sordos. Todos los vasallos del de Fuentes y todos los dessos señores, en oyendo appellar libertad, han de ser en favor nuestro. Emprendan, emprendan, que ya deseo ver me en ello.”—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 51.

† “A esta sazon estava don Diego de Heredia y don Martin

Perez in irons, in order to transport him with greater security in the carriage that was to convey him to Aljaferia *, Don Martin de la Nuza, whom Don Diego de Heredia and Don Juan de Torrellas durst not imitate, sallied forth, with a shield on his arm and sword in hand, at the head of an armed band, which the people joined and increased. He fired upon the soldiers who were guarding the back of the high street, dislodged them, and marched forward with his people to the market-place by the gate of Toledo. † Gil de Mesa and Francisco de Ayerbe, had arrived there a few seconds before him, as, musket in hand, followed by their *lacayos* armed with blunderbuses, and supported by the people, they had rushed impetuously along the street *de la Albarderia*, and penetrated as far as the market-place, overthrow-

de la Nuza en casa de don Juan de Torrellas con su gente, y Gil de Mesa con la de don Diego de Heredia en casa del proprio don Diego debatiendo sobre si saldria, o no."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 53. Deposition of Basante.

* "Y aviendolos ya puestos en dos pares de grillos teniendolos apunto para baxar aponer en el coche donde havian de ir, sucedió que Gil de Mesa, etc."—*Ibid.* Declaration of Lance-man de Sola, Secretary to the Holy Office, *Ibid.* vol. xv. t. v. fol. 130.

† "Solo don Martin de la Nuza con una rodela y su espada, siguiendole los lacayos que en casa de Don Juan de Torrellas estaban, salió por la sombrereria adelante, y ajuntandose gentalla del pueblo començaron a arcabuzcar, y yr gañando tierra, desbaratando no sé que compañía que guardava las esquinas de la calle mayor, hasta que llegaron al mercado por la puerta de Toledo."—*Ibid.*, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 53. Deposition of Basante.

ing, at their first charge, those who guarded it and shouting *liberty!** The troops of the governor and viceroy, being attacked at two different points, took to flight, and soon left their antagonists masters of the place. † The viceroy, and the judges and lords who accompanied him, hastily took refuge in a house. But the people set fire to it, and they only escaped from the danger by breaking down the back walls and taking shelter in the fortified habitation of the Duke de Villahermosa. ‡ On their side, the lieu-

* "Al mismo tiempo Gil de Mesa con Francº. de Ayerbe de Tauste y la gente y lacayos de don Diego, y el pueblo y canalla que les siguieron, acometieron con sus pedreñales por la calle de la Albaderia. Gil de Mesa con un mosquete y Francº. de Ayerbe con su pedreñal fueron los que primero entraron (que los vi por mis ojos) en la plaça appellidando *libertad!*"—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvi. t. vi. fol. 63.

† "Fue tanto lo, que se acuerdaron los que tenian ocupados los puestos, que en breve rato los desepararon todos, quedando señores de la plaça los agresores." *Ibid.*, fol. 53.—"Gil de Mesa con mucho numero de lacayos arcabuzeros . . . habiendo peleado grande rato con muertes de muchos hombres . . . ganaron le plaça y aviendo en su favor grandissimo numero de gente popular, appellidando: *Viva libertad!*"—*Ibid.*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 130. Deposition of Lanceman de Sola. *Proceso*, MS.

‡ "Virrey y todos deputados . . . se metieron in una casa, donde se hicieron fuertes . . . (Los agresores) pusieron fuego a la casa . . . viendo el virrey y las mas señores . . . que iba en aumento el fuego acordaron de rumper ciertas paredes para poderse escapar de tan notable peligro: y desta manera se fueron escapando a las casas del duque de Villahermosa, que por ser fuertes entendian estar en ellas mas seguros."—*Proceso*, MS.

tenant, the deputy, the jurat, and the Alguazil, who were with Perez, seized with fear, left him all alone, and fled over the roofs of the houses, as far as the palace of the chief justice.* The victorious rioters then broke open the doors of the prison, delivered Perez, and carried him in triumph to the house of Don Diego de Heredia. † Perez immediately mounted on horseback with Gil de Mesa, Francisco de Ayerbe, and two *lacayos*, and departed from Saragossa by the gate of Santa-Engracia, followed by a crowd of people, who accompanied him with their acclamations and good wishes for half a mile. ‡ He bent his course

* "Losque dentro en la carcel estaban, procuraron meterse en cobro passandose por los texados a casa del justicia."—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 53., Basante's Deposition.

† "Y rompieron los puertas de la carcel de los Manifestados, entraron, hasta donde el dicho Ant. Perez estaba, y con grandissima vozeria le sacaron y liberaron."—*Ibid.*, vol. xv. t. v. fol. 130. Deposition of Lanciman de Sola. "Llevandole en palmas a casa de don Diego de Heredia."—*Ibid.*, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 53. Deposition of Basante. "Y entrado Gil de Mesa començó a desaprisionar y quitar, los grillos a Ant. Perez, y le sacó y llevó a la casa de don Diego de Heredia."—*Proceso*, MSS.

‡ "Y tomado luego los cavallos de don Diego el y Gil de Mesa y Francº. de Ayerbe salieron por la puerta de Santa Engracia."—*Collection*, vol. xvi. t. vii. fol. 53., Deposition of Basante. *Proceso*, MSS. "La tarde a 24 de Septiembre despues que el pueblo le depositó en casa de don Diego de Heredia, tomó Antonio Perez cavallos, y con Gil de Mesa y un amigo y dos de los que llaman lacayos en Aragon salio de Çaragoça publicamente, accompañandole una nuebe de pueblo de aquella grand multitud medio quarto de legua con gritos y bendiciones

towards the mountains, nor stopped till he had ridden nine Spanish leagues; then, separating from Francisco de Ayerbe, and the two *lacayos*, he remained alone with Gil de Mesa.* He remained several days concealed among the mountains, going abroad only by night to fetch water, and living on a little bread that he had brought with him. † He waited for a favourable moment to cross the Pyrenees by a pass called the Col de Roncevaux. But having heard that the governor's emissaries were in pursuit of him, he turned back by the advice of Don Martin de la Nuza, and, on the 20th of October, re-entered Saragossa in disguise ‡; there he was received by Don Martin de la Nuza, who concealed him in his house. §

y ruegos al cielo dor su buen viage y salvacion."—*Relaciones*, p. 137.

* *Relaciones*, p. 137.

† "En este monte estuvo tres dias . . . sin que comer sino pan. De noche anduva en busca de aqua."—*Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 13 a.

§ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI.

FORMATION OF A CASTILIAN ARMY UPON THE FRONTIERS OF ARAGON.—ITS ENTRANCE INTO SARAGOSSA.—ARREST AND EXECUTION OF THE *JUSTICIA MAYOR*.—EXECUTION OR FLIGHT OF THE PRINCIPAL INSURGENTS.—SENTENCE OF DEATH PRONOUNCED BY THE TRIBUNAL OF THE HOLY OFFICE AGAINST PEREZ AND SEVENTY-NINE OTHERS, FOUND GUILTY.—AUTO-DA-FÉ IN SARAGOSSA.—DESTRUCTION OF THE ANCIENT LIBERTIES OF ARAGON.

THE insurrection of the 24th of September had subsided about five in the evening, after the deliverance of the prisoners and the escape of Perez. Saving a few cries of "*Liberty for ever!*" which were continued throughout the following night by bands of men or children, who perambulated the streets of Saragossa, order seemed to be every where restored.* The deputies thought of sending an embassy to Madrid; and the viceroy informed Philip of their project, after having apprised him of the measures he had taken to prevent the popular tumult, and

* "Luego aquella noche siguiente gran numero de gente de hombres y muchachos andubieron por toda la ciudad, apelidando *libertad! vivan los fueros del reyno de Aragon!* Y pasado esto, estubo la ciudad quieta per algunos dias." — *Proceso*, MSS.

of the dangers he had incurred. Philip showed no anger, and seemed disposed to practise no severity. He replied to the viceroy that he would receive the deputies whom they proposed to send to him, and would listen to them with pleasure; he charged him to say so, in his name, *to whomsoever and in whatsoever manner it might be most proper*, and he added:—
 “I am not less sensible of the peril you have incurred than I am satisfied with the prudence and zeal you have displayed, both you and those who assisted you in the affair of the 24th of September. For this I return you many thanks, which you will express; likewise, very particularly to those who supported you. This justice is due to the fidelity and attachment which you all testified, on that occasion, for my service and the good of this kingdom. Given at San-Lorenzo, the 1st of October, 1591. *I the King.*”*

Notwithstanding this apparent calm, and these proofs of satisfaction, Philip had the intention, this time, of punishing the insurgents and of profiting by

* “Holgare de oyrlos siempre que aqui llegaren, y vos lo podreys dezir en mi nombre a quien y como mas convenga. No estoy menos sentido de vuestro peligro que agradecido del cuidado y zelo que tubisteys, vos y los que os asistieron en el caso del dia de 24 de Setiembre. Dello os doy muchas gracias, y vos de mi parte las dad muy en particular a los que a aquello acudieron, como lo merece la fidelidad y amor que en ello mostrasteys todos a mi se servicio y bien de ese reyno. Dado en San-Lorenzo, a primero de Octubre, 1591. Yo el Rey.”—*Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. vi. fol. 20.

their rebellion to increase his authority in Aragon. It is peculiar to insurrections that they compromise the rights of nations when they do not establish them. Now, insurrections, undertaken with a spirit of local independence, did not seem destined to succeed at a time when the general inclination of states towards monarchical unity, tended to form great kingdoms, by means of the small territories which had established themselves under particular laws during the decadence of the middle ages. The Spanish peninsula was subject to this tendency. In the course of one century, from 1474 to 1580, the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Valencia, Grenada, Navarre, and Portugal had all been united under the same domination. Moreover, by the aid of the councils established by Charles V. and Philip II., in the centre of the state and near the common chief of all the territories, a general administration was gradually substituted for the ancient local administration of the different kingdoms. The attempts hazarded to prevent this revolution had only made it the more easy. The Castilians had lost their liberties after the insurrection of the *comuneros* under Charles V.: there was reason to believe that the Aragonese would lose their privileges also after the insurrection of the defenders of the national *fuero* under Philip II. For a long time the kings of Spain had waited only for a similar pretext to annul them. It is related that Queen Isabella had once

said: "My greatest desire is, that the Aragonese may revolt, to give me an opportunity for destroying their *fueros*."* When this opportunity did occur, her great-grandson did not let it escape.

At the time he received, without displeasure, the Aragonese deputies charged to negotiate with him a pardon for their native land, Philip ordered a Castilian army to be formed at Agreda, on the frontier of Aragon.† Don Alonzo de Vargas received the command of this army. This general was not of high birth, and, consequently, not related to the grandees of that kingdom, which he was commissioned to occupy and chastise.‡ The concentration of the Castilian troops in their neighbourhood, extremely alarmed the Aragonese. On the 27th of October, Don Diego Fernandez de Heredia, Don Pedro da

* Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker von Sud-Europa*, t. i. pp. 251, 252.

† "El exercito de Su Magd. tenia aloxada en la villa de Agreda y sus contornos que es frontera del reino de Aragon." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "Radunato immediatamente un essercito mandò subito sotto la condotta di D. Alfonso di Vargas all' impresa di quel regno, se ben tutti credevano que questi grado dovesse esser collocato nella persona di D. Fernando di Toledo. Ma Sua Maestà se ne asteanne perche essendo lui di grandi di Spagna apparentado con molti di quelli popoli ribelli del regno d'Aragona, non era sicura che dovesse eseguire le sue commissioni così prontamente come era la mente di Sua Maestà, la qual sospettione non cadendo in D. Alfonso per non esser di molto alto linaggio gli fu preferito." — *Venetian Relation of 1593*, a manuscript in the Foreign Office.

Bolea, Don Miguel de Sese, Don Balthazar de Gurrea, Don Juan de Aragon, Don Juan de Moncayo, Don Juan Agustin, Don Martin de la Nuza, Manuel don Lope, Christoval Frontin, and several others, repaired to the members of permanent deputation, in order to request them to provide for the defence of the kingdom, conformably to the fuero of the year 1300; and, in execution of the fuero of 1361, to condemn Vargas and his soldiers to death, if they dared to cross the frontier.* After this request, the deputies deliberated on the danger which threatened them and the means to escape it; they invoked the assistance of all the cities of Aragon, and asked the permanent deputations of the kingdom of Valencia and the principality of Catalonia for their assistance, stipulated by treaties between the three countries, in case any of them should be invaded.† At the same time they sent letter after letter to the king, to represent to him, that the entrance of the Castilian troops upon their territory

* Request of the Aragonese nobles to the members of the Permanent Deputation, on the 27th of October, 1591, to be found in the work of M. Bermudez de Castro, Notes, p. 382.

† "Y asi secretamente escribieron a todas las ciudades y villas del reino de Aragon a requerirles que si fuesse menester defender los fueros que acudiessen, como eran obligados, a la defensa. Y de la misma manera se escribió a la ciudad y reino de Valencia, y principado de Cathaluña, pidiendoles favor."—*Proceso*, MSS.

would be contrary to the fueros *, and to give him to understand that they would be obliged to oppose it publicly. Philip answered them on the 2nd of November, dissembling, yet half avowing his designs :

“Deputies, I have received all your letters, both those which you wrote to me by your messengers, and the others you have addressed to me since the 28th and 29th of last month. I remain convinced that in whatever is passing, and in the act and request which are presented to you, you will have proceeded like good and loyal subjects, conformably to your duty, my army especially not entering, as indeed it does not enter, to exercise any jurisdiction.

“In fact, that army is marching to France, and will halt only to give life and strength to justice ; that it may have its course in the hand of competent judges, according to the constitution of the kingdom. Therefore, in discussing the question as to whether the army will enter to exercise jurisdiction and produce evil, you have done what is offensive. This offence is still greater on the part of those who fancy such things, and who, upon such futile grounds, make

* “Privilegio segundo de generalibus privilegiis regni Aragonum, segun qual ninguno puede meter gente de guerra estrangera en Aragon ny exercer con mano armada jurisdiccion, y prender ny offender a ninguno, ny aun talar una sola olivera (palabras del fuero estas ultimas).” — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 146, 147.

requests and proposals, testifying, in all this, a distrust very inconsistent with their duty."

Philip added, that the lies of certain men, and the manifest oppression in which they held all the others, had obliged him to have recourse to this expedient, which he used as the only remedy. He assured them that he would employ this remedy with moderation, and appeared as though he would exclude only the principal offenders from his clemency. He announced to the deputies of Aragon the speedy arrival of his commissioner, Don Francisco de Borgia, Marquis de Lombay, who would make them more particularly acquainted with his intentions, and he engaged them, in the mean time, not to allow themselves to be carried away by anarchical thoughts, more likely to throw the whole kingdom into confusion than to procure the re-establishment of a privilege which was neither violated nor endangered. "My wish," said he in concluding, "has always been, and is still, to preserve the fueros, to employ all possible benignity, and to promote your welfare by the maintenance of the peace of the kingdom, and by the duration of a state of harmony, the result of which must be to ensure to my subjects the fair reputation and renown which they enjoy. As I have no other desire, those who will not conform to my wishes, will commit a real offence and incur a heavy responsibility. As for you, you will accept and satisfy

them, as already said ; so that there remain no room for excuse for those who, knowing what I have just said, would resolve to run voluntarily into destruction. — Given at the Prado, 2nd of November, 1591. I the King." *

* "Diputados, todas vuestras cartas he recebido, asi las que me escrivistes con vuestros mensagerons como las que despues me embiastes de 28 y 29 del pasado. Con mucha confiança quedo de que en todo lo que se ofrece, y en el acto y requesta que se os presentò, havreis procedido como buenos y leales vasallos conforme a vuestras obligaciones especialmente no entrando como no entra mi exercito a exercitar jurisdiccion, sino que yendo de paso a su jornada de Francia haze alto a dar fuerças y calor a la justicia, paraque se pueda exercitar por mano de los ministros de la naturalez de ese reino a cuyos oficios compete. Y asi en tratar de si el exercito entra a exercitar jurisdiccion y a hazer daño, os haveis hecho ofensa a vosotros mismos en pensar tal cosa ; y se la hazen muy grande los demas que a esto se persuaden y sofre tan vano fundamento hazen requestas y ofrecimientos, y en todo ello desconfiança de lo que deven. Fuera muy bien que se hubiera escusado lo uno y lo otro, y pues lo que se haze importa tanto al bien de todos, os encargo muécho que acudais vosotros a ello por vuestra parte. Ya que no lo sean los principales delinquentes, que se sabe que son los menos, para embolver en sus culpas a tantos como ay bien intencionados. Cuya opresion manifesta y engaños conque los procuran induzir me obliga al expediente que en el remedio sea dado, que sera con harto mayor benignidad de la que ellos me dan lugar a que use, como lo entenderéis mas particularmente quando ay llegue don Francisco de Borja, marques de Lombay, a quien imbio para enteraros desta verdad. Vosotros entretanto procurareis desviar pretensiones y requistas tan voluntarias y scandalosas, como la que se os ha hecho que va mas encaminada a desasasegar todo ese reyno que a procurar reparo de fuero al

But, far from yielding to these counsels, the deputies and the other chiefs of Aragon had prepared for a struggle. They had consulted, as was their custom in moments and cases of difficulty, thirteen juriconsults, of whom twelve had declared that the fueros bound them to resist the Castilian army.* In consequence of this opinion, the members of the permanent deputation and the five judges of the Supreme Court, had proclaimed the legality and necessity of defence, commanded an army to be organized, appointed the chief-justice commander of it, conformably to his office, and named Don Martin de la Nuza to serve him as colonel.† They gave

guno ni de libertad, pues es cierto que no ay quiebra dello en la entrada de mi exercito; antes siempre mi voluntad a sido y es de que los fueros se conserven, y de usar de toda la benignidad que huviere lugar, y favorecer os poniendo en paz el reyno y en perpetua concordia, procurando conservar en buena opinion y fama a mis subditos. Y asi siendo este mi intento serà en mucho cargo y culpa de los que no quisieren entender mi voluntad; vosotros enterareis y satisfareis della como aqui se dize, paraque por ninguna parte puedan tener escusa los que sabiendo esto, voluntariamente se quisieren perder. Dado en el Prado, a 2 de Noviembre, 1591. Yo el Rey." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xv. t. vi. fol. 75.

* "Juntaron se los que governaban el reyno, y con ellos treze letrados, para veer si, conforme lo dispone el fuero, podian hazer resistencia al exercito castellano. Y de los treze afirman los doce que se hiziese la resistencia; lo qual visto por los diputados del reyno determinaron de consultarlo con la corte del justicia de Aragon y declararon todos cinco juezes lo que los doce avian dado de parecer." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 160, 161.

arms to those who had none, and took the pieces of artillery which they found in the fortified mansions of the Duke of Villahermosa.* Unfortunately they received no subsidies from the principality of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia; and, with the exception of Ternal and Albarracin, no city of Aragon rose in their favour. This lukewarmness was very ill-omened; it showed that the Aragonese had no faith in the goodness of their cause, or no longer found themselves in a position to secure its triumph. Before Philip's army began to move, four messengers and notaries of the Cortes and Justicia Mayor of Aragon presented themselves before Vargas, to give him notice of the sentence of death pronounced against him, in case he should violate the territory of the kingdom. Vargas listened to them calmly, and replied, that he would justify his right in Saragossa.† Then he bid them depart in peace ‡, crossed

* "Y tambien se apercibieron de algunas piezas de artilleria, y de las casas del duque de Villahermosa sacaron ciertas piezas de artilleria buenas, aunque contra la voluntad del duque, sacaron cantidad de dineros y embiaron a la montaña a hacer gente."—*Proceso*, MSS. HERRERA, lib. vii. cap. xx. fol. 292.

† "... Contra el qual avia pronunciado el justicia de Aragon sentencia y pena de muerte, y contra su exercito; y embió porteros a notificarselo, y lo hicieron en Beruela, en la raya entre Aragon y Castilla, y bolvieron diziendo que los avia dexado hazer su oficio, y que respondiÓque en Zaragoza alegaria de su justicia y de su derecho."—HERRERA, lib. vii. cap. xx. fol. 292, col. 1. *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 158.

‡ "Y se bolvieron en sana paz."—*Relaciones*, *ibid.*

the frontiers of Aragon at the head of his army, strongly composed of more than ten thousand infantry, fifteen hundred light cavalry, and arquebusiers on horseback, and provided with plenty of artillery and ammunition. Don Juan de la Nuza ordered the tocsin to be sounded, displayed the standard of Saint George, and marched to oppose Vargas.* He took up his position three leagues' from the Castilian troops.† But the small popular army that had followed him, was neither considerable nor warlike enough to stop the progress of Vargas. Juan de la Nuza was aware of it. Yielding to the weakness of his character and the consciousness of his impotency, he retired to one of his castles.‡ The deputy of the kingdom, Don Juan de Luna, and the jurat of Saragossa, who were with him, did the same. The insurgents, left without a commander, then fell back tumultuously on Saragossa.§ The Aragonese had

* "Era el exercito de mas de 10,000 infantes y 1,500 cavallos ligeros y arcabuzeros a cavallo, muy bien armados, encavalgados y luzidos con muy experimentados capitanes, con grand provision de artilleria, municiones y vitualla." — HERRERA, lib. vii. cap. xx. fol. 292. Relaciones, p. 148. Proceso, MSS.

† "Y se puso a dos y a tres leguas del exercito castellano." — *Proceso*.

‡ "Y visto quan poca resistencia podia hacer el justicia de Aragon al exercito castellano con su campo, acordó de dejar la gente, y irse a una de sus villas, como lo hizó; que no solo dejó la gente, mas tambien el estandarte que havia sacado, que llaman de San-Jorge, y una cota de las armas de Aragon que llevaba puesta." *Ibid*.

§ "Y lo mismo hizó Don Juan de Luna que como diputado

preserved the habit of being free ; but they had lost that of fighting, and were to be stripped of the rights which they knew no longer how to defend.

Accordingly, Don Alonzo de Vargas, meeting with no resistance, entered, on the 12th of November, into Saragossa, whence Perez had prudently retired, on the 11th, to gain the Pyrenees a second time, and take refuge in Bearn with the sister of Henry IV. He arrived there safely, and was received by that princess with the eagerness and interest which the secrets he possessed would naturally excite, and which his misfortunes deserved.* Vargas at first gave way to no severity. He confined himself to the occupying of the principal squares and streets of Saragossa with his troops and artillery. Philip appeared willing to treat the conquered Aragonese with kindness, and to come to an arrangement with them. Don Francisco Borgia, whom he had appointed his commissioner, arrived at Saragossa on the 28th of November, and entered upon conferences with the deputies of the country about the late events and the measures to be taken to reconcile the king's authority with the fueros of the kingdom.† Philip even chose, on the

iba por el reino, y el jurado que iba por la ciudad de Zaragoza, y todos de conformidad y acuerdo se retiraron, y dexaron toda la gente sin cabezas, y asi con grande alboroto se volvieron a la ciudad."

* Relaciones de Antonio Perez, pp. 173—180.

† Proceso, MSS.

6th of December, Count de Morata, a member of the high Aragonese nobility, as viceroy, to replace Don Miguel Ximeno, who had returned to his bishopric of Teruel, at the moment of war.* It is true that Count de Morata had latterly embraced zealously the king's cause, after having at first showed himself favourable to the wishes of the people on the 24th of May. His nomination was hailed as a pledge of reconciliation and a proof of condescension †; it reassured some of those who had quitted Saragossa, and who did not hesitate to return. The deputies and their assessors, trusting to their fueros, as if they were in a condition to cause them to be respected, declared that they could not deliberate as long as the foreign troops were in the kingdom. At the same time they wrote, on the 12th of December, a very humble letter to the Prince of the Asturias, to engage him to be a mediator with the king his father: they conjured him, in the name of the whole kingdom, compromised by the faults of a very small number, to restore them to the favour of Philip. They invoked this blessing as a pure testimony of his royal compassion, and concluded their letter by saying, "We place our salvation in your hands, and entreat your Highness not to dis-

* Proceso, MSS.

† "Los Aragoneses se holgaban de ver que Su Magestad ne les quiera quebrantar los fueros, pues le embiaba virei natural del reino." — *Proceso*, MSS.

dain to acquire this new right over us. We shall henceforth be attached to you by mercy, as we now belong to you by right and nature. May our Lord preserve the most serene person of your Highness, as Christendom requires."*

This letter did not move Philip. Believing, doubtless, that the time was now come to lay aside every artifice, this prince no longer postponed the execution of his designs. Gentle treatment was suddenly changed into severity, and negotiations ended in chastisement. On the 18th of December, Don Gomez Velasquez, knight of the order of Saint Iago and squire to the Prince of the Asturias, arrived at Saragossa as new royal commissioner. † He came charged with the terrible wishes of his master. On the morrow of his arrival, the Duke of Villahermosa, who was descended from the ancient kings of the country, Count d'Aranda, and the Chief Justice, Don Juan de la Nuza, were summoned, by his orders, to the house of the Captain-General Vargas, and de-

* "Para esto imbia el reino a D. Fernando de Aragon a V. A. suplicandole le dé las manos, paraque en nombre de todo este reino ponga en ellas las esperanzas de nuestro remedio, no desdeñandose V. A. tener con nosotros este nuevo derecho, pues seremos suyos desde aqui adelante por misericordia, como lo somos por justicia y naturaleza. Guarde Nuestro Señor la serenissima persona de V. A., como la Cristiandad ha menester." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "A 18 de Diciembre, a medio dia, entró en Zaragoza por orden de Su Magd. Gomez Velasquez, cavallero de la orden de Santiago, cavallerizo de Sus Altezas." *Ibid.*

tained prisoners.* In order to spread still greater terror in Saragossa, they first struck the man who represented in his person the independence of Aragon and her right of insurrection. Although Juan de la Nuza had shown much condescension and weakness, had given up Perez to the Inquisition, and had not undertaken to engage the Castilian army, he was punished as if he had been a decided rebel, which perhaps would have enabled him to be a successful one. They wanted to efface the powers of the magistracy in the blood of the magistrate. As soon as he was arrested, he was told to prepare for death. "And who is the judge," inquired he with alarm, "who pronounced the sentence?" "The king," replied they. Then he asked to see the sentence; and they showed him a few lines in Philip's handwriting, thus worded: "You shall arrest Don Juan de la Nuza, justice of Aragon, and cut off his head. I must hear of his death as soon as his arrest."—"But how?" said the unfortunate nobleman, "nobody can judge or condemn me, but the whole Cortes, the king, and the kingdom." †

* "En la qual se le mandaba prender al duque de Villahermosa, conde de Aranda y al justicia mayor del reino de Aragon."—*Proceso, MSS. Relaciones*, pp. 164, 165.

† "Le intimaron que avia de morir. El justicia con la turbacion natural dixó: *Que como tal?* Que quien era *el juez de tal sentencia?* Le respondieron *que el rey mismo*. El replicó *que le mostrassen la sentencia*. Le fueron mostrados unos renglones de la mano propria del rey para don Alonzo, que dezian

But what use was it for the conquered to assert a right which the conqueror had the will and the means to disown? Don Juan de la Nuza was conducted to prison, and left in the hands of the fathers of the company of Jesus, who were to attend him till the moment of his death. The very same night they raised a scaffold on the market-place, and, early on the following morning, the last of the independent chief justices of the kingdom of Aragon ascended it, dressed in black, and in fetters. After he had said his prayers on his knees, the executioner beheaded him in presence of his astounded countrymen.* Above the scaffold had been placed a board, on which was written: —

asi: *En recibiendo esta, prendereys a don Juan de la Nuça, justicia de Aragon, y tan presto sepa yo de sa muerte como de su prision, hareysle luego cortar la cabeça.* El pobre caballero dixò: *Que como? que nadie podia ser su juez ni condenarle sino cortes enteras, rey y reino.* — *Relaciones*, p. 169.

* “A los 20 de Diciembre, a los diez de la mañana, estando apercebida, y junta mucha gente de cavalleria y infanteria, y tomadas las calles, sacaron a don Juan de la Nuza, vestido de luto, con unos grillos en los pies, y lo metieron en un coche, y dentro del los padres y frailes de la compañía, que le ayudaban a bien morir. Llevaronle desde las casas de don Juan de Torres donde estaba preso, hasta la plaza del Mercado donde estaba el cadahalso. Llegados y subidos en el cadahalso despues de haver hablado con su confessor, y buelto a confessar, puesto de rodillas, le taparon los ojos con un tafetan, y le cortaron la cabeça. . . . Le llevaron a enterrar a lentierra de sus passados con grande sentimiento del reino de Aragon y ciudad de Zaragoza.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

“ Such is the justice which the king, our lord, orders to be done to this gentleman for having been a traitor, having taken up arms against His Majesty, his king and natural lord, and (marching against him with pennon, banner, and warlike preparation) for having troubled and excited to revolt this city and the other cities of this kingdom and neighbouring kingdoms, under colour of a feigned liberty. He commands his head to be struck off, his estates to be confiscated, his houses and castles to be rased to the ground, and, moreover, condemns him to all the penalties pronounced against such offenders.” *

The execution of Don Juan de la Nuza spread terror throughout the kingdom of Aragon, which entertained an hereditary respect for the descendant of that illustrious and generous family; to which, for one hundred and forty-two years, had been confided the office of justicia mayor, with which King Alfonso V. had invested Ferrer de la Nuza in 1450. †

* “ Esta es la justicia que manda hazer el rey nuestro señor a este cavallero por aver sido traidor y tomado las armas contra Su Magestad, su rey y señor natural, saliendo contra el al campo con pendon, bandera y aparatos de guerra, y por alborotador y commovedor desta ciudad y de las demas universidades deste reino y de los reinos comarcanos desta corona de Aragon, so color de fingida libertad. Mandandole cortar la cabeza, y confiscar sus bienes, y derribar sus casas y castillos, y demas desto se le condena en las penas en derecho establecidas contra los tales.” — *Proceso*, MSS.

† “ Avia estado el oficio de justicia mayor de Aragon en la casa de don Juan de la Nuza desde el año de 1450, que por

As Perez energetically says: *With him justice was condemned to death, and executed.** This execution was followed by a great number of others. The Duke of Villahermosa, who was an entire stranger to the insurrections of the 24th of May and the 24th of September, was conducted to Castile, in contempt of the fuero, and beheaded at Burgos †, for having offered, as every good Aragonese ought, to defend the privileges of his country, at the moment when they had proclaimed the right of resistance to the Castilian army. Count d'Aranda, transported to the prison in the borough of Alaejos, escaped the scaffold only by dying in prison before his sentence was pronounced. ‡ Barons de Barboles and de Purroy, who belonged to the noble houses of Heredia and Luna, were beheaded at Saragossa. Doctor Lanzi, a senator of Milan, whom Philip had appointed to exercise his justice in Aragon, condemned also to the block Don Martin de la Nuza, baron de Biescus, who took refuge in France; Don Miguel Gurrea, cousin to the Duke of Villahermosa; Don Martin de Bolea, baron de Sietamo; Don Antonio Feriz de Lizana; Don Juan

muerte de Francisco de Carzuela, justicia mayor de Aragon, fue por el señor rey Don Alonzo el quinto llamado el magno proveido en el oficio de justicia mayor Ferrer de la Nuza." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* "En fin se puede dezir que fue justificada y condenada a muerte la justicia." — *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 170.

† Llorente's *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 382.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

of Aragon, brother-in-law to Count de Sastago ; Francisco Ayerbe, Dionisio Perez of San-Juan, with several other gentlemen, many labourers and artisans*, and even the executioner Juan de Miguel, who was hung by his assistant. Royal vengeance did not even stop there. After having beheaded both the highest and the lowest, proceeded to the confiscation of the property of the sufferers (prohibited by the *fucros*), commanded the demolition of their castles and mansions, which were rased to the ground, multiplied the number of arrests, and caused a still greater number to take to flight †, Philip published a general amnesty strongly resembling a proscription, so great was the number of persons of every age who were excluded by name. In this act of hypocritical clemency, given on the 24th of December, 1592, he enumerated the troubles that had burst out in Aragon to the contempt of his authority and of the service of God, the criminal audacity with which they had marched against his army and the royal banner ; he vaunted the *great clemency* he had shown in the chastisement of the guilty, of whom he might have struck a more considerable number ; then he added :—

* Llorente's *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 392. In the *Proceso* we find the *pardon publico por mandamiento de la sacra real magestad del rey nuestro señor, etc.*, with all the exceptions by name.

† *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, pp. 167—169. Llorente, *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 392.

“Taking into great consideration the fidelity of our subjects of the kingdom of Aragon, wishing to pardon the wicked on account of the good, using that natural clemency and kindness so conformable to our inclination ; desiring, on account of the love we bear our kingdom of Aragon and all its inhabitants, to receive and replace in our favour and affection those who have failed, but who will again serve us, we are convinced, with their former fidelity ; remembering, also, the duties of princes to imitate God, our Lord, who forgives us so many sins ; considering, moreover, that the most of those who were mixed up with the past troubles and seditions had been led astray by false persuasion, violence, fear, improvidence, and human weakness, we have decided and resolved, with the advice, assent, and after the deliberation of our supreme council of Aragon, to grant our present grace and pardon.”* In consequence, he extended

* “ Pero teniendo consideracion a la gran fidelidad de los de nuestro reyno de Aragon, y como por algunos buenos quanto mas por tantos se ayan de perdonar muchos malos, usando de la clemencia y piedad que es natural y tan conforme a nuestra inclinacion ; y por el amor grande que tenemos al dicho nuestro reyno de Aragon y a los naturales de el, deseando por ellos recibir y acoger a nuestra gracia y amor a los otros que en esto han prevaricado, confiando que con la fidelidad antigua nos serviran y lo continueran de bien en mejor ; acordando nos de la obligacion que tenemos los principes de imitar a Dios Nuestro Señor, que tantos pecados nos perdona ; considerando asi mismo que la mayor parte de los que se han mesclado en las turbaciones y sediciones pasadas lo han hecho par falsa persua-

his amnesty to all, except the ecclesiastics and monks, who had participated in the insurrections of Saragossa, and who were to fall under the justice of the Inquisition; all the juriconsults who had declared they might legally repel the Castilian army; all the captains who had marched out at the head of their companies to attack it; all the ensigns who had borne a banner against it; and, moreover, a hundred and nineteen persons, among whom were Antonio Perez, Don Juan de Torrellas Bardaxi, son-in-law to Count de Sastago; Don Pedro de Bolea, cousin to Count de Fuentes and grandfather of Count d'Aranda; Don Philip de Castro-Cervellon, of the house of the Counts de Boil; Don Pedro de Sese, son of Don Miguel and father of Don Joseph, baron de Cerdan, who was afterwards viceroy of Aragon; Don Juan de Moncayo, Don Luis de Urrea, Don Juan Coscon, Manuel Don Lope, Don Juan Agustin, Don Denis de Eguaras, Gil de Mesa, and many other gentlemen; as well as friars, notaries, procurators, advocates, merchants, artisans, and labourers. The greater part of them managed to escape from the kingdom, from which they remained absent during the life of Philip II.*

sion, violencia, miedo, descindo y otra fragilidad humana, habemos acordado y determinado, con parecer, acuerdo y deliberacion de los del nuestro consejo de Aragon supremo, de remittir y perdonar, hazer y conceder la presente nuestra gracia y perdon." — *Proceso*, MSS.

* *Ibid.*

The severities of the Inquisition had been added to the rigours of royal justice. The tribunal of the Holy Office, whose persecution of Perez had given rise to these troubles, then resumed its pretensions and increased them. In the place of the former inquisitors, Molina de Medrano, called away to Madrid, to receive the reward of his zeal; Hurtado Mendoza and Morejon, removed from Saragossa, one, as being too gentle, the other, as suspected of being favourable to Perez, were now named licentiates; Pedro de Zamora, Velarde de la Concha, and Doctors Moriz de Salazar and Pedro Reeves, whose devotedness and cruelty knew no bounds. These men at first summoned before their tribunal three hundred and seventy-four persons. They were able, however, to imprison only one hundred and twenty-three, the others being already subjected to the jurisdiction of Doctor Lanzi, or having escaped by flight.* They condemned seventy-nine to death, besides the censures of infamy which they pronounced against several of the accused, who were to obtain their absolution publicly, with wax tapers in their hands, on the day of the solemn *auto-da-fé*. Perez was at the head of the condemned. They had examined witnesses against his faith, his morals, his actions, his designs, and even his origin. In order to attribute to him an hereditary disposition towards heresy, the attorney of the Inquisition had

* Llorente's *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 377.

endeavoured to prove him to be the great-grandson of an Antonio Perez of Hariza, a converted Jew, burnt, together with his brother, at Calatayud, for having Judaized after their conversion. He was nothing of the kind. Gonzalo Perez, secretary of state to Charles V., and the father of Antonio Perez, was the son of Barthelemy Perez, a native of Montreal, in Aragon, and secretary of sequestration to the holy office of the Inquisition at Calahorra. He was of noble descent. This was established at the time by clear and respectable testimony, and at a later period placed beyond all doubt by authentic statements*; but these depositions were rejected by the inquisitors, whom it suited better to rely on vague and deceitful testimony, which they had taken care to provide, but which, notwithstanding all their efforts, they had even obtained with much difficulty. The other facts that served as motives for the condemnation of Perez were neither better demonstrated nor of more consequence. The sentence pronounced, on the 7th of September, 1592, by the Holy Office of Aragon, was confirmed, on the 13th of October, by the council of the supreme Inquisition at Madrid. After having fully related the insurrections excited by Perez in Aragon; recapitulated his treasonable doings, as secretary of state; enumerated the blasphemous propositions, the false and offensive asser-

* Llorente's *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, pp. 347—351. and 367—369.

tions uttered by him against God and against the king; after having asserted that he had had the project of extirpating the inquisition, and that it was through his attachment for M. de Vendome (Henry IV.) that he had disturbed Aragon, and had caused an army of Lutherans to come thither; after having declared him suspected of unnatural crimes, and pretended that he was living in France like a heretic, hearing the prayers of the Huguenots and taking the communion with them, the inquisitors condemned him to be burnt in effigy, by their sentence which ended thus: —

“The name of the Lord invoked,

“. . . . We ought to declare, and we do declare Antonio Perez convicted of being a fugitive and obstinate heretic, an encourager and protector of heretics, having consequently incurred major excommunication, under which he remains bound, and the confiscation of his property, which we order to be appropriated to the chamber and exchequer of his majesty. . . . We deliver the person of the said Antonio Perez, if it can be seized, to justice and the secular power, that they may execute upon it that punishment which is required, by law, in such a case; and, as, for the present, the person of the said Perez cannot be apprehended, we order, that in his stead and place, be delivered, for examination, an effigy representing him, covered with the criminal's cap, with a *san benito*, having on one side the ensigns

and face of the condemned, and, on the other, a scroll inscribed with his name; that such effigy be present at the moment when this our sentence shall be read, and be delivered up to justice and the secular power, at the end of such reading, to be burnt and reduced to ashes. We declare the sons and daughters of the said Antonio Perez, and his descendants of the male line, incapable of having, holding, or possessing any dignities, benefices, or offices, whether ecclesiastical or secular, public or honorary; moreover, that they may not wear upon them or upon their persons, gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, coral, silk, camlet, or fine cloth; that they may not ride, carry arms, nor do any thing that is prohibited by common law, by the laws of the kingdom, and the instructions of the holy office to the unqualified of the same kind."*

* "Devemos declarar y declaramos al dicho Ant. Perez por convicto de herege, fugitivo y pertinax, fauctor y encubridor de hereges, y por ello aver caido y incurrido en sentencia de excommunication mayor y estar della ligado, y en confiscacion y perdimiento de todos sus bienes, los quales mandamos aplicar y aplicamos a la camera y fisco de Su Magestad. . . . Y relaxamos la persona del dicho Ant. Perez, si pudiere ser avido, a la justia y brazo seglar, paraque en el sea executada la pena que de derecho en tal caso se requiere. Y porque al presente la persona del dicho Ant. Perez ausente no puede ser avida, mandamos que en su lugar sea sacada al auto una estatua que la represente, con una corozca de condenado y con un san benito que tenga de la una parte las insignias y figura de condenado, y de la otra un letrado con su nombre; la qual estatua

This sentence was executed on the 20th of October. Early in the morning the seventy-nine unfortunate prisoners were led in procession to the market-place.* The effigy of Perez figured in its rank in this lugubrious march; it was covered with the criminal's cap and the *san benito*, furnished with flames, with this inscription: *Antonio Perez, ex-secretary of the king our lord, native of Montreal of Ariza, and residing at Saragossa, a convicted heretic, fugitive and relapser.*† It was burnt the last in this odious *auto-da-fé*, which, begun at eight in the morning, and ended by torch-light at nine in the evening.‡

Royal authority and the justice of the inquisition,

este presente al tiempo que esta nuestra sentencia se leyere la dicha sentencia paraque la mande quemar e incinerar. Y declaramos por inhabiles y incapaces a los hijos y hijas del dicho Ant. Perez y a sus nietos por linea masculina para poder aver, tener y poseer dignidades, beneficios y oficios asi eclesiasticos como seglares que sean publicos ò de honrra; y no poder traer sobre si ni sus personas oro, plata, ni perlas, piedras preciosas, corales, seda, chamelote, paño fino, ni andar a caballo, ni traer armas, ni exercer ni usar de las cosas arbitrarias a los semejantes inhabiles prohibidas asi por derecho comun como por leyes y pragmáticas de estos reynos y instrucciones del santo oficio." — *Llorente's Collection*, vol. xvii. t. xi. fol. 178.

* "A 20 del mismo mes, a las ocho de la mañana, salieron los presos del santo oficio: serian mas de 79 condenados a muerte, todos gente plebeya." — *Proceso*, MSS.

† "Antonio Perez fue secretario del rey nuestro señor, natural de Monreal de Ariza y residente en Zaragoza; por herege convencido, fugitivo, relapso." *Ibid.*

‡ "Y se acabó el auto con achas a las nueve de la noche." — *Ibid.*

its formidable auxiliary, triumphed by terror and executions. The most enterprising and dignified of the Aragonese nobility and gentry were either dead or flying; those of the lower orders who had taken the most active part in the last risings perished in the *auto-da-fés*; dismay and submission were universal. Philip seized this opportunity to finish his work. After having struck the inhabitants, it still remained to change their institutions: this is what he did. He assembled the cortes, at Tarragona, to abolish the *fueros*, which he did not find compatible with the power of the crown. Contrary to the sanction of custom, he did not preside over them himself, but caused Bobadilla, archbishop of Saragossa to do so.* Everything he asked was granted. He acquired the right of naming and revoking the *justicia mayor*; that of choosing the viceroy among the Castilians,

* "Aviendo el rey nuestro señor, que este en el cielo, llamado a cortes el año 1592 a la ciudad de Teraçona, llegado el dia de la proposicion, se presentò a los braços comission, que diò estando en Madrid a Don Andres de Cabrera y Bobadilla, arçobispo de Caragoça, para poder hazer en su nombre la proposicion de las cortes, y tener el solio de los cabos que resolviessen, y aunque huvò en los braços muchas personas, que a los principios resolvieron de no admitirlas, teniendo por constante lo que arriba en este capitulo acerca deste proposito esta dicho; mas despues considerando el estado que entonces tenian las cosas del reyno, les pareció admitir al arçobispo."—GERONIMO MARTEL, *Forma de celebrar Cortes en Aragon*, in 4°. Caragoça, 1641, pp. 5, 6.

as well as among the Aragonese *; and that of presenting nine judges, of whom only one could be rejected by the cortes, who formerly named them all.† The chief justice, instead of a judiciary mediator between the king and the people, became a mere royal functionary. This was not all: the cortes lost their full sovereignty, as did the judges their entire independence. The absolute *veto*, belonging to each of their members, was suppressed; and unanimity of votes was required only for the imposition of new taxes.‡ Philip annexed to his crown some seignories that had preserved their feudal prerogatives. He transformed the Aljaferia into a citadel, and left troops in it to hold Saragossa in obedience and respect. "At the present moment," writes the Venetian ambassador, in 1593, his majesty has lessened and ruined all the liberty of those people, in chastising very severely all their chiefs, by condemning them to death and confiscating their property. He has deprived the chief justice and several other magistrates of their authority, and forced them, moreover, to accept a Castilian vice-roy according to the pleasure of the king, who formerly appointed him agreeably to their wishes and after their request. He has

* Blasco de la Nuza, *Historias Ecclesiasticas y Seculares de Aragon desde 1556 hasta el 1618*, t. iii. p. 323. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker von sud Europa*, t. i. p. 254.

† Martel, *Forma de celebrar Cortes en Aragon*, pp. 91, 92.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3.

taken from them the administration of their revenues, the greatest part of which he has appropriated to the construction and maintenance of the citadel, which is being built upon the spot where the palace of the inquisition formerly stood: a high ground, whence it will command the whole city of Saragossa. He has stripped the cortes of their power; and has left troops in Saragossa, where they continue to live licentiously and without controul, having divested that city of all its splendour and prosperity. Lastly, and this has been a token of his infinite prudence, his majesty has determined to have all the changes effected by him to the prejudice of that kingdom and contrary to its laws, confirmed by the states, which were particularly charged to watch over the maintenance of the privileges of the kingdom; hence all these changes have acquired a durable sanction and stability.”*

* “ *I ora Sua Maestà ha scemata e ruinata tutta la libertà di quelli popoli, castigando severissimamente tutti li loro capi con bandi, prigionie, con toglì la vita e con molte confiscationi. Ha privato il gran justicia e molti altri magistrati della sua autorità, con averli astretti ad accettare vice-re castigliano a beneplacito del re, dove prima lo ricevavano a lor soddisfazione e richiesta. Gli ha privati dell' amministrazione dell' entrata, assicurandone la maggior parte per la fabrica e per il mantenimento della cittadella che si edifica nel luogo ove era situato il palazzo dell' inquisitione, del quale per esser in sito eminente dominerà tutta Saragosa. Ha spogliato le corti della loro autorità. Ha mantenuto et tuttavia mantiene l'esercito in quella città, il quale, vivendo licentiosamente a discrezione, l'ha*

Such was the revolution that overthrew the ancient constitution of Aragon, crushed its nobility, destroyed its independence, and incorporated its territory more strongly with the Spanish monarchy. Perez, who was the cause of this revolution, escaped its effects; but, though he had avoided death by a fortunate flight, he had not yet reached the end of his dangers and tribulations. The implacable vengeance of Philip was to pursue him wherever he might go to seek an asylum.

spogliata d' ogni decoro e di ogni bene ; e finalmente, quello che è stato segno d' infinita prudenza di Sua Maestà, ha voluto che tutti gli ordini da lei fatti in pregiudicio e contro le leggi di quel regno siano conformati delli stati che erano quelli che avevano particolarmente cure dell' osservanza de' privilegi di quel regno, che hanno dato fermezza e stabilità perpetua a tutte queste ordinationi." — *Relation Vénitienne*, MSS. des affaires étrangères, an 1593.

CHAPTER VII.

ARRIVAL OF PEREZ IN FRANCE. — REPEATED ATTEMPTS OF THE AGENTS OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO ASSASSINATE HIM.— HIS RESIDENCE IN ENGLAND; AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE EARL OF ESSEX. — HIS RETURN, AND HIS POSITION IN FRANCE.—WHAT PART HE TAKES IN THE POLICY OF HENRY IV. AND QUEEN ELIZABETH, AGAINST SPAIN, DOWN TO THE PEACE OF VERVINS AND THE DEATH OF PHILIP II.

IT was not without trouble that Perez had been able to cross the Pyrenees and take refuge in Béarn, with the sister of Henry IV. On leaving Saragossa, before Vargas had entered it with his army, he had passed several days and nights of the month of November among the rocks or in caverns.* He had directed his course towards Sallen, a place situated at the extremity of Aragon, on the French side; and Don Martin de la Nuza had received and lodged him in an old castle which he inherited from his ancestors.† The whole country was put on the alert to seize him. The inquisitors had sent orders for this purpose into all the villages of Aragon, and the soldiers

* Relaciones de Ant. Perez, p. 171—174.

† Ibid., p. 174.

of Vargas were hunting for him throughout the mountains, and marching towards Sallen.* This extreme danger did not allow Perez to remain any longer in Spain, although he felt himself retained by an involuntary love for his native land and the dear hostages whom he left there. "He still waited," says he, in speaking of himself, "to see whether reason would not resume some strength, and whether God would not remove the veil from the eyes of the mind of him who was able to arrange everything. He was like a dog of a faithful nature, who, though beaten and ill-treated by his master and household, is loth to quit the walls of his dwelling."† At length he was obliged to decide. He sent, therefore, on the 18th of November, Gil de Mesa, his friend and deliverer, to Pau, with the following letter, addressed to the Princess Catherine of Bourbon : —

" Most Serene Lady,

" Antonio Perez presents himself to your Highness, by means of this letter and the person who brings it. Madam, as there cannot be on earth any place so secluded and retired, but the fame of my per-

* *Relaciones de Ant. Perez*, p. 171. Llorente's *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 342.

† " Yva se entreteniendo por ver si se recobraba alguna fuerza la razon, y si abria Dios los ojos del entendimiento a quien lo podia remediar : y como perro de fidelidad natural, que, apaleado y mal tratado de su señor o de los de su casa, no sabe apartarse de sus paredes." — *Relaciones*, p. 174.

secutions and adventures must have reached it, it is probable that, in consequence of this report, the knowledge of them may have penetrated into regions as exalted as those wherein your Highness resides. These persecutions are such, and of such long duration, that they have reduced me to the most imperious and absolute necessity, for my natural defence and preservation, to seek a port where I may save my person and shelter myself from that tempestuous sea of troubles which, as is notorious to the whole world, the passion of certain ministers has raised against me, with so much fury for so many years; a sufficient reason, Madam, to believe that I have been, like a mile-stone, proof against the hammer and every possible shock. I entreat your Highness to give me your protection and safe-conduct, to enable me to arrive at the end which I pursue; or, should your Highness prefer to grant me your support and a guide, in order to be able to pass over in all safety to some other prince from whom I might receive the same benefit, your Highness will thereby do an act worthy of your grandeur."

He concluded this letter with some very fantastical expressions, by the aid of which he hoped, at least, to provoke her curiosity, in presenting himself to her as one of those *monstrosities of fortune*, capable of exciting the astonishment, and worthy of obtaining the sympathy of mankind.* The Princess Catherine answered,

* Relaciones, 175 and 176.

that Perez would be welcome in Béarn, and that he was at liberty to remain there or pass through, transact business, and live according to his religion. But before he had received this answer, Perez was obliged to leave the castle of Don Martin de la Nuza. Three hundred men had appeared at Sallen, and, according to certain information, they were to arrive on the morning of the 24th of November, at the very castle where he had found an asylum.* He departed on the night of the 23d, and, followed by two *lacayos*, crossed the mountains. "The snow of the Pyrenees," says he, "received him favourably, and was, as it were, the most natural shelter he could have at that time. He walked with so much difficulty, on account of the delicacy of his constitution, and because his sufferings had worn away his bones, and fatigued him in body and soul, that they were obliged to carry him in their arms in certain arduous passes; and in others to spread cloaks upon the snow to enable him to walk."† At length, on the 26th of November, he arrived safely at Pau, where the

* Relaciones, p. 179.

† "La nieve de los Pyreneos le recibió gratamente, y con abrigo mas que natural de aquel tiempo. Caminava con tanto trabajo, por ser hombre delicato, y tenerle los trabajos muy adelgazados los huesos, y muy fatigada la persona exterior y interior, que era menester passarle en braços muchos passos de los elados, y en otros echar las capas sobre los yelos por donde pisasse." Ibid., p. 178.

Princess Catherine welcomed him with an eagerness in which there was as much policy as compassion.*

When Perez had reached a foreign land, Philip, disconcerted in his revenge, and fearing, moreover, the harm which the presence and the divulgations of Perez might do him in Europe, attempted to entice him back to Spain by deceiving him. He was in hopes, doubtless, that his wife and children might serve to allure him into this new snare. Don Martin de la Nuza, on leaving Sallen and casting himself upon the French territory, had had, upon the very frontier-line, a conversation with the chiefs of the band that was in quest of Perez. In consequence of that conversation, he repaired to Pau, to propose to Perez, on their part, an agreement of which they would promise the faithful observance in their own name, in the name of the king, the viceroy, Don Alonzo de Vargas, and the inquisitors.† Perez replied, that he would cordially listen to these proposals, provided they were made in good faith, and that, according to what was offered, so would he answer.‡ Don Martin de la Nuza never returned; but, on the 1st of January, 1592, Thomas Perez Rueda, who had favoured his first escape, wrote to him to engage him to come to an understanding with the king, for the interest of his family and that of the kingdom of

* Relaciones, p. 178.

† Ibid., p. 180.

‡ Ibid., p. 180.

Aragon, which was beginning to feel the weight of Philip's hand.* Perez immediately answered: —

“Yesterday, I received your Lordship's letter, dated the first day of this year. That letter, your Lordship may believe me, affected my very soul; for I have in the world the reputation of loving those who love me, and it cannot be supposed that I should be willing to lose it on occasions the most favourable for its proof. I will do, therefore, to-day, all in my power to prove it again, especially when I find the means of being useful to the kingdom to which I am so much indebted, and of promoting the interest of my friends along with my own; a desire so natural and so common to every human being. If, moreover, be added the wish of serving my king and my affections, I will listen with pleasure to fair propositions. But, casting one's eyes upon such great and unheard of severities, and upon those who are the victims of them, who could have confidence? Let, at least, some preliminary pledges and guarantees be given, as the commencement and the assurance of a good and sincere compromise, and of a treatment very different from the past.” †

* Llorente's *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 343.

† “Ayer recebi la carta de V. M. de primero deste anno; he visto por ella el suceso de su prission de V. M.; he lo sentido en el alma, y puedeseme creer pues tengo credito en el mundo de amigo de mis amigos, y no es de creer que le querre perder en las ocasiones majores para mostrarlo. Y en esta que agora

He complained of their not having sent him back Don Martin de la Nuza, if they sincerely desired peace and reconciliation; then he added, "If I see that the negotiators themselves are not well treated, I shall distrust everything and everybody. Let Don Martin return, and bring with him a prepared answer; and let them begin with acts of mercy, so well due to divine and human justice, towards those poor children and their mother. Without these preliminaries, let them not trouble themselves; I will not listen to arrangements which possess neither security nor certainty."* He ended this letter with some threatening recriminations, and added, "*God for all! Dated the king's day* (Epiphany). The better the day the better the deed."†

se ofresce harè quanto en my fuere para el efecto que digo, quanto mas juntandose a ello el bien del reyno a quien yo devo tanto, y el beneficio de los mios y asiento de mis cosas (natural y comun desseo a todos). Puesque si con esto se juntasse o junta la satisfacion y servicio de my rey, de mis amores, holgarè yo de oyr medios trattables. Però si veo tales rigores y tan ynauditos ellos y los quellos padescen, quien ha de creer alomenos, si no vee prendas y señales precedentes y que estas comiencen, dando testimonio del bueno y verdedado tratto y de que serà diferente del passado."—*Llorente's Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. xv. t. vi. fol. 220.

* Y si alos trattantes yo los viesse mal trattados, mal me fiare de nada ny de nadie. Buelva D. Martin, trayga respuesta concertada, y empiecen con piedades devidas a la justicia divina y humana en aquellos hijos y en la madre dellos. Que si esto no precede, no se cançen que ny oyr, no quiero coniertos que no pueden ser ciertos ny seguros." *Ibid.*, fol. 220.

† "Dios con todos. Hecha dia de los reyes. En buen dia, buenas obras." *Ibid.*

As the severe proceedings in Saragossa, far from diminishing, as we have already seen, continued their course, they could no longer hope to dispel the distrust of Perez and get possession of his person by deceiving him. They, therefore, thought no longer of enticing him to Spain, but of murdering him in France. Fearing lest his address might enable him to escape this persecution of a new kind, as he had for twelve years foiled all their other attacks, they sought to get him assassinated, by applying to men who would the least excite his suspicions. While he was still in the Pyrenees, they had promised pardon to Antonio Bardaxi, baron de Concas, and to Rodrigo de Mur, baron de Pinilla, already condemned as smugglers, on condition that they would go and take him at Sallen.* After he had arrived in France, they offered successively pardon and plenty of money to Mayorini, the Genoese, who had escaped with Perez, but whose friendship for him had cooled, and to Gaspard Burces, the Aragonese, who had been the cause of the seizure and death of the Marquis d'Almenara, and was now a fugitive, if they undertook to kill Perez.† Mayorini remained ten days without warning Perez of the overtures they had made; but at last he had the honesty to denounce them to his ancient friend, in the presence of Don

* Llorente's *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 343.

† *Relaciones*, p. 183, 184.

Martin de la Nuza.* This plot, which was conducted by a gentleman of Navarre, was thus defeated. The one which Gaspard Burces had undertaken to execute likewise failed: it was discovered, and Burces was condemned to death, but his life was spared at the intercession of Perez.† These attempts were not the only ones directed against his person during the year he passed at Béarn. There is one which he relates very pleasantly. I will let him tell it himself.

“ When Perez was at Pau, they went so far as to try to make use of a lady of that country, who lacked neither beauty, gallantry, nor distinction; a notable woman, an Amazon, and a huntress; riding, as they say, up hill and down dale. One would have thought they wanted to put to death some new Samson. In short, they offered her ten thousand crowns and six Spanish horses to come to Pau, and form an intimacy with Perez; and, after having charmed him by her beauty, to invite and entice him to her house, in order, some fine evening, to deliver him up, or allow him to be carried off in a hunting party. The lady, either being importuned or desirous, from a curiosity natural to her sex, to know a man whom authority and his persecutors considered of so much consequence, or, lastly, for the purpose of warning the victim herself, feigned, as the sequel makes us believe, to accept the commission. She travelled to Pau, and

* Relaciones, p. 183.

† Ibid., p. 184.

made acquaintance with Perez. She visited him at his house. Messengers and love-letters flew about like hail. There were several parties of pleasure; but, in the end, the good disposition of the lady, and her attachment for Perez, gained the victory over interest, that metal of base alloy, which defiles more than any act of love; so that she herself came and revealed to him the machinations from beginning to end, together with the offers made and all that had followed. She did much more. She offered him her house and the revenue attached to it, with such a warmth of affection (if we may judge of love by its demonstrations), that any sound mathematician would say there was, between that lady and Perez, an astrological sympathy.*

* "Que llegó la cosa, quando estava en Pao Antonio Perez, a tentar a una señora de aquellos confines, hermosaça, galanaça, gentilaça muy dama, una amazona en la caça y en un cavallo de monte y ribera (como dizen), como si trataran de matar a algun Samson. En fin se le offrescieron x. mill escudos y vi. cavallos Españoles porque viniessen a Pao, y travasse amistad con Antonio Perez, y cevado de su hermosura le combidasse y tirasse a su casa, y de alli se le entregasse una noche, o se le dexasse arrebatar andando a caça. La dama importunada, o por curiosidad (natural al sexo) de conoscer un hombre de que tanta estima hazia el poder y la persecution, ò por advertir al perseguido, fingió, segun se dexo creer por lo que se siguió, acceptar el tratado. Partióse para Pao. Travó amistad con Antonio Perez. Veniale a visitar a su aposento. Yvan y venian lacayuelos y billetes, como llovidos y algunos regalos. Al fin pudo

The ill success of these different attempts against the life of Perez did not, as we shall see, put an end to them. Perez was incapable of remaining long inactive and useless in Béarn. His ardour, his spirit of intrigue, his ambition, and his hatred required a stage and material. He wanted to breathe the air of great courts, have a hand again in the most important affairs, and seek the satisfaction of revenge. The two adversaries of his persecutor's policy and power were Henry IV. and Elizabeth; and he offered to serve them. As early as the 9th of December, 1591, he had written to the former of those princes: "The persecutions which I had suffered for twelve years, in the States of the Catholic King, have been of such severity, duration, and variety, that they have reduced me to the indispensable necessity of quitting those States, to come into those of your Majesty, and place my person under the shelter of your favour and protection." * He had forwarded to

mas con ella su bien natural y la afficion que tomò a Antonio Perez, que el interes (metel baxo y el que mancha mas que ningun acto de amor), porque ella misma le vino a descubrir al cabo el tratado lo offrescido, el caso todo; y no solo esto, pero le offresció su casa y el regalo della con tanta afficion (si se conoce por las demonstraciones el amor), que no huviera buen mathematico que no dixera que tenia con Antonio Perez aquella dama commutacion de luminares." — *Relaciones*, pp. 186, 187.

* "Las persecuciones que yo he padescido xii. annos ha en los reynos del rey catholico, han sido tan fuertes in grandeza, y duracion, y variedad, que me han reduzido a necesidad forzosa a apartarme dellos y a venir a los de V. Mag. a salvar mi persona

him an account of his misfortunes, and entreated him to let him know his wishes. Henry IV. was at that time in his strongest struggle against the League and Philip II. He had gained the battles of Arques and Ivry, besieged Paris, of which the Prince of Parma had come to raise the blockade at the head of a Spanish army, and was about to undertake the siege of Rouen, which the same general was to raise once more.

In the spring of 1593, before recommencing his campaign, he wanted to see Perez, who might be a very useful instrument to him. He wrote to his sister, the Princess Catherine, to bring him to Tours. There, he had long conversations with Perez; and, reckoning on making use of him with Elizabeth, in their common enterprises against Spain, he sent him to that princess with the following letter: —

“ Madam,

“ One of the agreeable incidents of my journey to Tours has been to see Sr. Antonio Perez, with my sister, as I had told her to bring him to me, and to have known him by the conferences he has had with me to be a person not less capable of the post he has held, than unworthy of the persecution which he suffers. . . . I hope to be able to employ advantageously for my affairs the intelligence and good

con su favor y protection.”—*Obra y Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, 8vo, Geneva, 1744, Cartas, p. 506.

understanding he has of those that have passed through his hands ; and, for this purpose, I have retained him in my service ; but thinking, Madam, that you would be very glad to see him and confer with him, I have thought it meet that he should go and kiss your hands, on the occasion of this voyage of the *vidame* de Chartres, and have been willing to furnish him with the present, in order that you may be pleased to favour him so much the more willingly with your kind welcome and gracious audience, from which, I feel sure, you will derive satisfaction, and hear from him what you may turn to advantage ; entreating you, after having heard him, to let him return to me in company of the said *vidame*, whom I have very expressly recommended to take care of his person, and to bring him back to me insafely ; which will be to employ him not less for what will concern your service, as far as you may judge proper, than for my own ; putting both in equal consideration, and yours constantly above all things. Thereupon, humbly kissing your hands, I pray God, Madam, to have you in his most holy keeping.

“ Your most affectionate brother and servant,

“ HENRY.*

“ At Chartres, this 29th March.”

Perez went over to England in the summer of

* March 29th, 1593. State Paper Office, Ancient Royal Letters, vol. xxii., letter 202, autograph.

1593. At the moment of his arrival, the policy of that kingdom, though always turned against Philip II., was wavering between the counsels of the circumspect Burghley and those of the enterprising Earl of Essex. Those two men, so different in age, disposition, and designs, divided the court, and were contending for the government of the State and the favour of the queen. Cecil, Baron of Burghley, the grand treasurer, was then seventy-three years old. He had been in the administration upwards of forty years. His hair had become grey in the service ; and he was so enfeebled that he was carried in a chair even in the presence of the queen.* Elizabeth placed in him an extreme and well-merited confidence. He had facilitated her accession to the throne ; and had more than any other contributed in maintaining her on it with stability and grandeur, by his devotion and ability. Industrious and keen-sighted, shrewd and energetic, he had either suggested to her a prudent conduct, or had led her into bold resolutions, as occasion and necessity required. He it was who had decided her to take in hand the defence of the Low Countries, in their revolt from the king of Spain, to combat, on the Continent, that formidable head of Catholicism ; and even to rid herself of the unfor-

* "The grand treasurer, whom they carry in a chair, is very old and grey."—*Ambassade de M. Hurault de Maisse en Angleterre vers la reyne Elizabeth, ez années 1597 et 1598*, MS. des Affaires Etrangères, fol. 245.

tunate Mary Stuart, his ally in England; in order not to have to fear the enemy at home, whilst they were resisting him abroad. This old politician, whom no scruple arrested in his cold calculations, by suppleness as well as by services, knew how to preserve the favour of his sovereign, whose whims and fits of passion he managed to support; whose mind was of a superior cast to his own; but who, to the great heart of a queen, joined the strangest caprices of a woman.* He had passed his life at court, and there he wished to die; his last ambitious project was to transmit the succession of his power to his son, Sir Robert Cecil, whom he had already caused to be named Secretary of State, and who was destined to manage the transition of the crown of Elizabeth to James I.

The mind of Burghley, already chilled by age, was rendered still more prudent by the change which was taking place in the situation of affairs on the Continent. In concert with the skilful Walsingham, he had resolved, in 1589, when Henry IV. had just succeeded Henry III., to lend him the most efficient support; because the downfall of that prince in France would have brought about the submission of the Netherlands; and the absolute triumph of Catholicism in France and the Low Countries would have menaced England with a Spanish invasion.

* *Ambassade de M. Hurault de Maisse en Angleterre vers la reyne Elizabeth*, fol. 212. 241. 256, 257.

Accordingly, the English Cabinet had then written to the Protestant States of Germany: "The good issue of the common cause depends on the life and good health of this king. The harm that may happen to him will overwhelm us all who run the same risk."* His advice had therefore been to grant to that prince an assistance, proportioned to the fears and interests of England. But now, when Henry IV., after having beaten the Leaguers, was changing his religion, in order to finish, by a triumph over the minds of men, the work which he had promoted by his success in arms, and to induce the wavering towns and the disheartened chiefs of the League to succumb, Burghley's intentions could no longer be the same towards him. Philip II., being old, the Prince of Parma dead, and Henry IV. appearing able to struggle without disadvantage against the Spanish power, rather on the wane, Burghley showed himself little inclined for England to take henceforth an active part in the continental war. To grant sparingly some succour to Henry IV., so as to keep the war in France, and out of England — such was then his plan.

The Earl of Essex had very different projects, in which a bolder policy was joined to more generosity. The rivalry of power, which separated him from the

* Oct. 15, 1589. Walsingham to State Paper Office, France.

warlike confederation they had in view, discontented as she was at the conversion of Henry IV., and reassured, moreover, by the success of that prince against the Leaguers and Spaniards. Far from consenting to lend him greater assistance, she withdrew from him the succours she had previously granted, and called back to England the troops she had in Brittany under the command of Norris.* The mission of Perez was limited, at this moment, to acquaint her still better with the character of Philip II., to reveal to her his former plottings, and to apprise her of the state of Spain. He obtained from her, by the intercession of the Earl of Essex, a pension of a hundred and thirty pounds.† During his stay in London, where he was supported by the generosity of the earl, Perez had become intimate with the brothers, Francis and Antony Bacon. The former, profoundly versed in the study of the law, had already risen into notice by his profound science and lofty mind; and was devoting himself to those works which were to lay the foundation of his immortal renown. He had attached himself to the Earl of Essex, who was fond of men of great merit, and

* Thomas Birch, *An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the Year 1592 to 1617, from the MS. State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes*, in 8vo, London, 1749, pp. 13, 14.

† "Advertising Signor Perez that the queen had given to him a hundred pounds land in fee simple, and thirty pounds in parks."—*Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, t. i. p. 193.

had established him in his mansion at Twickenham Park, near London. As Francis Bacon was, at that time, ardently seeking for public employment, which was ultimately the sad rock on which his honesty and gratitude were wrecked, he found food for his curiosity and ambition in the conversation of such a personage as Perez, so quick-witted, so well-informed in state affairs, and at one time in the confidence of the most powerful monarch in Europe. But this intimacy greatly displeased his mother, an excellent woman, of strict morality, who, alarmed at the reputation and dissipated habits of Perez, wrote, one day, to her son Antony : " I pity your brother, yet so long as he pities not himself, but keepeth that bloody Perez, yea a coach-companion, and bed-companion, a proud, profane, costly fellow, whose being about him, I verily fear, the Lord God doth mislike, and doth less bless your brother in credit and otherwise in his health. . . . Such wretches as he is, that never loved your brother, but, for his own credit, living upon him. " *

It was during the leisure of this his first residence in London that Perez published, in the summer of 1594, his *Relaciones*, under the imaginary name of *Raphael Peregrino*; which, far from concealing the real author, in reality designated him by the allusion to his wandering life. This account of his adventures,

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, t. i. p. 143.

composed with infinite art, was calculated to render his ungrateful and relentless persecutor still more odious, and to draw towards himself more benevolence and compassion. He sent copies of it to Burghley, to Lady Rich, sister of the Earl of Essex, to Lords Southampton, Montjoy, and Harris, to Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Henry Unton, and many other personages of the English court, accompanying them with letters gracefully written and melancholy in spirit.* The one which he confided to the patronage of the Earl of Essex was at once touching and flattering: "Raphael Peregrino," said he, "the author of this book, has charged me to present it to your Excellency. Your Excellency is obliged to protect him, since he recommends himself to you. He must know that he wants a godfather, since he chooses such as you. Perhaps he trusted to his name, knowing that your Excellency is the support of the pilgrims of fortune."†

The hatred of Philip against Perez became, if possible, still greater by the publication of this book ;

* *Cartas de Antonio Perez*. See p. 530. and the following ones.

† "Raphael Peregrino, auctor desse libro, me ha pedido que se le presente a Vuestra Exçelencia de su parte. Obligado esta Vuestra Exçelencia a empararle, pues se lo encomienda. Que el deve saber que ha menester padrino, pues le escoge tal. Quiça se ha fiado en el nombre, sabiendo que Vuestra Exçelencia es amparo de peregrinos de la fortuna."—*Cartas de Antonio Perez*, p. 530.

which was translated, the same year, into Dutch, in order that the insurgents of the united provinces, by seeing the reward which this prince reserved for his own servants, and the treatment which he inflicted upon the Aragonese for having wished to defend their rights, might learn still better what fate awaited them if they were conquered.* The vindictive monarch endeavoured again to rid himself of Perez, who was denouncing his perfidy and cruelty to all Europe. Two Irishmen received and accepted from Count de Fuentes, the governor of the Netherlands, the mission to kill him. Being seized, in London, with letters which implicated them, they were, upon their own confession, condemned to death; and their heads were fixed upon one of the city gates, near Saint Paul's.† Philip sought, moreover, by underhand manœuvring, which did not succeed, to excite the distrust of the English court against Perez, who complained to Essex "of those Pharaohs plotting in Egypt, that the queen might look upon him with suspicion."‡

But he did not remain much longer in England.

* Cort. Begryp van de Stucken der geschiedenissen van Antonio Perez uit het Spaensch ghetoghen door Joost Byl, in 4to, Gravenhaghe, 1594.

† Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. p. 156. Relaciones de Antonio Perez, p. 189.

‡ "Quæque machinabantur in Ægypto Pharaoni et illi, ut apud reginam suspiciosus fierem." Ibid. t. i. p. 237.

Henry IV. had called on him to return several times. This prince, who, on the 20th of January, 1595, had declared war against Philip II, whom he had combated, till then, as an ally of the government of the League, wrote, on the 30th of April, to Perez: "I extremely desire to see you, and to speak about affairs which concern and are important to my service; and I now write to the Queen of England, my good sister and cousin, to pray her to permit you to make this voyage, and to my cousin the Earl of Essex to lend a hand, to which I am sure there will be no difficulty."* Perez now prepared to depart, though he seemed withheld by his affection for Essex, by whose generosity he had been maintained, as he assured Henry IV. He wrote to the earl, with his imagination become more fantastical since his residence at the English court, where a refinement of sentiment and an affectation of language were then in vogue: "To leave you is, for me, to die; because, to remain with you, was to live. What am I saying? It would have been better for me to die than to leave you; for, to die is to put, once for all, an end to suffering, and to live is to increase it."† Before returning to France he had an audience with Elizabeth, who showed him all manner of kindness ‡, and to whom he addressed

* MSS. Béthune, vol. 9141. fol. 33.

† Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. p. 250.

‡ Ibid., p. 229.

some counsels, in a species of memoir, written in French, but in rather a whimsical style. In it he engaged himself to keep up a secret correspondence in that queen's interest; and he was daring enough to say: "I have heard that Secretary Villeroy will have me for his guest; and I will try to derive from this something profitable for your Majesty." By adopting these tortuous courses he was about to injure and finally to ruin his credit with both governments.*

On his arrival at Dieppe early in the month of August †, Perez was received by the governor of the town with the greatest distinction. ‡ Henry IV. had recommended them to watch carefully over his safety, and he was accompanied by an escort of fifty horsemen to Rouen §, where he had the grief to hear of the death of Don Martin de la Nuza, who had accompanied him to France with Gil de Mesa. || Henry IV. wrote to him, from Lyons, on the 26th of August: "I was pleased with your return to my kingdom. I tell you that you are welcome, and I wish you to be received as you deserve; and, as I shall be approaching your neighbourhood in a few days, I will not give you the trouble to proceed

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 265.

† Ibid., p. 270.

§ Ibid.

‡ Ibid., p. 283.

|| Ibid., p. 282.

further, but pray you to abide in my city of Rouen, where I have heard you have arrived. And I now write to my cousin the Duke of Montpensier, that he may take such care of you as I desire you to believe I shall always take in proportion to your merits. Yet, if you judge it would be better for you to come to Paris, I will leave it to you. In that case you will find my cousin the Prince de Conti and the Sr. de Schomberg, with those of my council, who will receive and favour you as if I was there myself. But I will not finish at present without condoling with you upon the accident that has befallen poor Don Martin, who has been cut off by a very great misfortune. I regret him greatly; but since it has pleased God so to ordain it, I pray you not to be afflicted in conforming to his good pleasure, and to be assured that mine shall never fail you. I pray God, Sr. Perez, to have you in his holy keeping.”*

Perez preferred advancing to meet Henry IV. at Paris to waiting for him at Rouen. He arrived there on the 10th of September †, and was received with the most flattering and encouraging attentions. They gave him, for his residence, a fine mansion which had belonged to the Duke of Mercœur, with a guard of two soldiers, who were charged to watch

* British Museum, Birch Collection, additional MSS., No. 4115. pp. 143, 144.

† Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. p. 295.

night and day for the safety of his person.* Indeed, the precautions of which he was the object were not useless; for another plot against his life was then discovered. Hints received from Spain, and transmitted to Villeroy, the secretary of state, and to the marshal of the forces, announced that Baron de Pinilla, the same who had tried to seize Perez at Sallen, was on his way with two comrades, one of whom was a Biscayan monk in a lay costume, to murder Perez.† Accordingly, Baron Pinilla, who had already received 600 gold ducats to do the deed, had entered Paris, and made every preparation for his flight after he should have perpetrated the murder, when he was taken, together with one of his accomplices. The monk contrived to escape. In Pinilla's lodging they found two pistols loaded with two balls each.‡ Being put to the torture, he confessed all, and was executed, a few months later, upon the Place de Grève.§

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. p. 296.

† Ibid., p. 282.

‡ Ibid., pp. 282. 299. 402. *Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, p. 190.

§ "Le Vendredi 19 (Janvier) fut roué un Hespagnol en la place de Grève à Paris, atteint et convaincu d'avoir voulu tuer dom Perés, secrétaire du Roy d'Espagne, qui dès longtems suivoit la cour: estant bien venu près Sa Majesté, pour lui avoir descouvert plusieurs conseils et menées du Roy de Espagne son maistre contre sa personne et son Estat."—*L'Estoile, Journal de Henri IV.*, Collection Petitot, t. xlvii. pp. 151, 152.

Henry IV. had repaired to Paris, where he had conferred with Perez upon his affairs, which, since he had declared war against Philip II., had taken a new turn. They were advancing more and more against the Catholic party, which had lost the towns of Meaux, Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Paris, Rouen, Laon, Amiens, &c. ; but they were declining against Spain. In a word, the pope having, at last, granted him his absolution, and recognised him as king, the Duke of Mayenne submitted to him in Burgundy, the Duke of Joyeuse in Languedoc, and soon Marseilles and the whole of Provence yielded to his sway. Of the League party there then remained only the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany. But if the civil war was drawing towards its close, the war abroad had an unfavourable commencement. Philip, unable to aspire any longer to the crown of France for himself or his daughter Dona Clara Eugenia, had changed his plan of attack against Henry IV. Ceasing to be his rival, and viewing him only in the light of an ordinary enemy, he now thought of extending his dominions at his expense by the Low Countries, on the side of Picardy, and by Flanders, on the side of Burgundy. Count de Fuentes had attacked the towns on the northern frontier, and the constable Ferdinand de Velasco had marched with an army towards the valley of the Saône. Though Henry IV. had beaten the latter in the brilliant engagement of Fontaine Française, he had

not the less loss in Picardy, La Chapelle, Le Catelet, Dourlens, and Cambrai, of which Count de Fuentes took possession; and this success on the part of the latter was followed up in the spring of the following campaign by the surrender of Ardres and Calais.

In this position Henry IV. earnestly solicited the aid of the Queen of England. As early as the month of January, 1595, after his declaration of war against the King of Spain, he had complained to Elizabeth of her having withdrawn from Brittany Norris and the English troops whom he commanded. Elizabeth, though congratulating him on having assumed the offensive against the King of Spain, had answered, that she was obliged to defend her own kingdom, ever menaced by that prince, and to prevent the impending insurrection in Ireland.* After the loss of the first cities in Picardy, Chevalier, the solicitor-general, had been sent to London to demand four thousand English foot-soldiers, which the city of Paris undertook to pay.† But the English Cabinet had despatched Roger Williams to Henry IV. to intimate to him that the queen consented to garrison with some troops only Calais (which had not yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards), Dieppe, Boulogne, and the cities on the coast.‡

* An Historical View of the Negotiations, p. 23.

† Ibid. p. 24.

‡ Ibid. p. 25.

In refusing, by the advice of Cecil, this succour to Henry IV., Elizabeth was not the less alarmed at the success of Philip in France. The Earl of Essex, in his warlike humour, and with a more exalted policy, had been anxious to decide his sovereign to an active and efficacious co-operation. Having failed to effect this object by direct means, he conceived he might succeed by artful measures, and with this view made use of Perez, to whom he had confided his plans, and who was his agent with Henry IV. He wrote to him therefore: "We are uneasy about the affairs of France, even we, whom you know to be so inactive in all things. If you, you I say, in France, knew us, you would not transact business with us as you do; nay, if you considered human nature, you would not send us such useless embassies. For what moves men but desire and fear? Let others give; as for us, we sell; others imitate God; we, the usurers. We refuse obstinately to those who ask humbly. Juno herself, after having often implored assistance in vain, exclaimed resolutely:

Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo,

alluding to that Pluto of Spain, who derives his name from his riches. But, be silent, my pen, and be you silent, Antonio, for I fancy I have been reading the poets too much. Adieu."*

* *Solliciti enim de rebus Galliae sumus et nos quos tu nostri in omnibus esse segnes. Si vos, vos, inquam, in Gallia nos nosceretis, non ita, ut facitis, negotia nobiscum tractaretis.*

Henry IV. comprehended this ingenious warning, which his very position could so plainly suggest. He sent word to Elizabeth, by his ordinary ambassador, M. de la Fontaine, that, by abandoning him, she would force him to come to terms with those who had conspired their common ruin. That he might rouse her from indifference, by awakening her fears, he sent her M. de Loménie, with a mission to announce to her that the pope had delegated cardinals to him, principally charged to propose a peace with Spain, on honourable terms, a peace which he would be forced not to reject, if the Queen of England did not aid him to continue the war. * This declaration offended and troubled Elizabeth, who looked upon it as ungrateful on the part of Henry IV., and dangerous for herself. Accordingly, she wrote a despatch that was to be shown him; in which, after having reminded him of the former services she had repeatedly rendered him, she justified her present inaction on the Continent by the necessity of providing

Imo si naturam humanam consideretis non ita inanes ad nos mitteretis legationes. Quid enim homines impellit, nisi appetitus et terror? Dent beneficia liberales: apud nos sunt omnia venalia. Illi Deum imitantur, nos fœneratores. Novimus humiliter petentibus constanter denegare. Juno autem, quum sæpius frustra opem implorasset, tandem erupit: *Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo*, ad Plutonem illum Hispaniæ qui a divitiis nomen obtinet alludens. Sed tace, calame, et tace, Antoni, nimium enim poetas legisse videor." — *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, t. i. p. 297.

* An Historical View, p. 26.

for her own safety in England; and said, that she could not believe he would consent to treat without her; adding that, if, however, it was so, she would leave all to God, who would know how to defend her. For the rest, she postponed every junction of their forces against Philip II., barely offering to succour the maritime towns of France which might be menaced by him.* Henry IV., having read this letter, answered “that he was not able alone to sustain the burden of the war. Wherein, if necessity shall force him to change his course, as the fault thereof shall not be his, so her Majesty for her part, instead of excuses and justifications, shall only have cause afterwards of sorrow. †

Alarmed more and more by this answer, which seemed to threaten resolutions very disastrous for England, Elizabeth, at the end of December, 1595, sent Sir Henry Unton to Henry IV., to whom the former was endeared from having been wounded when fighting in his service by his side.‡ Sir Henry Unton was charged by his government to penetrate the real sentiments of the King of France, to find out exactly whether he really projected an arrangement with Spain, or was merely menacing England with it, being really less dissatisfied with the latter country than he affected to appear. In the former case, he

* An Historical View, pp. 28—36.

† Ibid., pp. 36.

‡ Ibid., 44. — Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. p. 353.

was to be appeased and gained over by the offer of a treaty or good supplies; in the latter case, things were to be left as they were. To these general official instructions which Unton received from the English Cabinet, the Earl of Essex, whose devoted creature he was, added a few particular ones, which were of a nature to prevent any uncertainty as to the views of Henry IV.* In these curious instructions, he engaged that prince to remain firm; and informed him, that the surest means to awaken the English cabinet from its lethargy, and reunite the two crowns, was, not to threaten, but to act. “So shall 99 (the French King) be more respected, his friends gain credit on this side, and those that have thwarted him all this while be convinced, and driven to cry *peccavi*. Let him show his means to treat, but not as if he would boast of them; let him say he is sorry we are not able to keep him, and as sorry that he is not able to make war without us. But when he sees that 15 (Henry Unton) brings nothing but words, he must seem to take this worse than all the rest, as if meant to insult him. He must give some public show of coldness at his first coming and of discontent, after he hath heard him, but so that it be without wounding his feelings, and he must welcome him as 15 (Henry Unton) though he do not as ambassador. To conclude; he must so use the matter that 15 (Henry Unton) may

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. p. 353

send us high-toned letters, whereby he must drive us to propose and to offer." *

Whilst he was making use of the envoy of the English Cabinet to drag the latter from its prudence and egotism, Essex wished also to employ the correspondence of Perez for the success of this manoeuvre, in order that the same information arriving from two different quarters might operate more convincingly and surely in the mind of Elizabeth. He therefore caused the following instructions to be forwarded to him: "93 (Antonio Perez) must write to 19 (Earl of Essex) such a letter as may be shown, wherein he shall say that the sending of 15 (Unton) hath made all things worse than ever, and he must expostulate with me why I, knowing the humours of 99 (the French King) and the affairs of A (France) so well as I do, would not stay his coming, since he brought nothing else. He must write also that he fears, ere he shall have leisure to send again and to treat, 99 (the French King) will be too far gone to recede." †

Every thing happened as Essex had arranged. As soon as he arrived in Paris, Sir Henry Unton wrote, in the style agreed on, to Elizabeth, Burghley, and Essex: "I have nothing to add," said he to the latter, "save that, if the Queen do not speedily satisfy the King, things will soon be desperate, being already in a very bad position." † On his side, Henry IV.,

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, t. i. pp. 353, 354.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

to whom Unton had confided the plan of the Earl of Essex, played admirably the part allotted to him to ensure its success; after having given an audience to the English ambassador, he sent for Perez and asked him if he was acquainted with the instructions of Unton. Perez replied that he was not: "It is no matter," said the King, "you shall hear now and on all occasions everything from me, who love you and confide in you; notwithstanding you are still fond of England, and desire to return thither."* He acquainted him, at the same time, that Queen Elizabeth, after having written with her own hand to M. Edmondes, her ordinary ambassador at his court, that it was unnecessary to assemble commissioners, but that she would despatch an ambassador to settle the points to be treated, had done so without charging him to discuss those points, and proposed now only a mere meeting of commissioners. He showed the greatest indignation at this conduct; and though testifying the esteem he had for the man who had received a musket-shot by his side, he expressed to Perez the contempt he felt for the minister charged with such instructions.† "You will find not one," added he warmly, "who does not almost laugh at the embassy and me, or think that I am laughed at. My council think the

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, t. i. p. 374.

† *Ibid.*, p. 374.

extraordinary proposals were empty words, and rather intended to deceive.* “I cannot deny this,” replied Perez, “but what is to be done? Would it be proper to sink into despair? Persevere, and exert your courage and resolution!” † “What will that signify,” interrupted the king, “I will be no longer troublesome to any person. I have done enough in respect of fortitude, enough for my honour, enough for my friends and allies, enough for the world in general. I should be esteemed proud if I did not give way to the circumstances of time, occasion, and an exhausted kingdom. I will listen to my counsellors; I will listen to necessity itself, of all counsellors the highest authority.” ‡ Perez, in giving an account of this interview to the English government, in a letter addressed to the Earl of Essex, added, “Who knows, perhaps you are engaged in some underhand work, and to oblige the Spaniard, who may have offered you some considerable advantage, you are willing to oppress and abandon this prince, in order that he may the more quickly make peace with Spain. The designs of princes are a profound abyss.” § In another letter,

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. pp. 374, 375.

† Ibid. p. 375.

‡ Ibid.

§ “Quis scit? Forsan vos aliquid machinamini, et, ab Hispano rogati, pro aliquo vestro magno beneficio oblato, vultis nunc opprimere et derelinquere, ut pacem citius amplectatur cum Hispano. Finis principum abyssus multa.” Ibid.

he wrote, that Philip's friends were rejoicing at this disagreement: "For," said he, "what kingdom is there in Europe, in which that disturber of nature has not sown his mammon, in order to subvert the foundations of the earth and the faith of men?" * Rising, at last, with haughty irony against those who were dissuading the English council from engaging in new expenses to assist the king of France, he exclaimed, "Love them, if you prefer to your own safety the wretched substance of gold and silver." †

The letters of Perez were so much more likely to consummate the effect produced by the dispatches of Sir Henry Unton, as he was almost without being aware of it on this occasion, the accomplice of the stratagem of Essex, whose general policy he nevertheless approved of, as being quite anti-Spanish. Notwithstanding the friendship of Essex, the confidence and attentions of Henry IV., and the part he was taking in the affairs of England and France, Perez was sad, uneasy, dissatisfied, and mistrustful, having his mind agitated with a thousand different projects. ‡ As soon as he had returned to France, he had received a pension of four thousand crowns, and had even been led to expect the office of privy counsellor and the collar of the order of the *Saint Esprit* §; but the pension was not always regularly paid,

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.

† Ibid., p. 370—376—400.

‡ Ibid., 376.

§ Ibid., p. 370.

at a period when the finances of Henry IV. were in the most deplorable condition, as this prince himself describes when writing to Rosni, that *his shirts were all in rags, his doublets out at the elbow, and his saucapan often upset*. The delays which Perez experienced filled him with suspicion; he fancied himself an object of enmity to the princes of the house of Guise, on account of what he had said in his *Relaciones*, of their projects with Jon Juan, of the envy of the courtiers, of the jealousy of Villeroy, secretary of state *, and even of the *espionnage* of the faithful Gil de Mesa, who, devoting himself to his bad fortunes, had saved him from his prison both in Castile, and in Aragon; and, sharing his exile, had followed him into France, where he had become a gentleman of the chamber of Henry IV.† The hints that he received respecting the new plots formed against his life added fears to his suspicion.‡ At one time he meditated retiring into England; at another, to Florence; now to Venice; now to Holland.§ Henry IV. then tried to calm and comfort him, saying, “You shall live nowhere, Antonio, in greater security than with me, and I desire you not to leave me.”||

But his sickly imagination received a new blow;

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 340.

† Ibid., p. 432, 433.

§ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid., p. 372

for a false report announced to him that his wife, Donna Juana Coëlle, was dead.* He made the most affecting eulogy on that heroic woman, who had so completely devoted herself to his misfortunes. "I have lost," said he, in writing to Essex, "the companion of my sufferings, the comforter of my griefs, the rib, the half of my soul: I ought rather to say the entire soul of this body. Other women are the bodies of men; but she and those like her (if nature can produce any such) are rather the soul of the body of men. She has gone from the prison of the living to the sepulchre of the dead, that last asylum of the wretched in this age, and their safest retreat."† He wished to enter into holy orders, *to be*, as he said, *more frequently with the tombs.*‡ Henry IV., entering into his views, even promised him, at this period, the reversion of the bishopric of Bordeaux.§

Nevertheless, Perez, without abandoning the sorrow which overwhelmed him and a sourness of

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 366.

† "Amisi comitem meorum laborum, consolatricem mearum ærumnarum, costam dimidiumque animæ meæ; animam totam hujus corporis dixissem melius. Aliæ uxores corpus virorum; illa et tales, si natura alteram noverit producere, animæ corporum virorum. . . . Quæ jam evasit à sepulcro viventium carcere ad sepulcrum cadaverum, ultimum miserorum hujus seculi asylum naturæque gremium securissimum." *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 366.

‡ "Sed ut diutius morer verserque cum sepulcris." *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

temper that daily increased, was sent a second time to England in the spring of 1596. Queen Elizabeth^c and her council felt convinced that it was necessary to tighten the loosened bonds of alliance with Henry IV., and succour that prince, to prevent him from treating with Spain. Cardinal archduke Albert, who had received the government of the Low Countries, and was soon to espouse the daughter of Philip II, had unexpectedly presented himself, in April, with an army of fifty thousand men before Calais. The siege of so strong a place on the coast, whence the Spaniards could menace England still better with an invasion, had moved Elizabeth.* She had hastily raised troops, armed vessels, and proposed to Henry IV. to defend Calais, on condition she should continue to keep it, which Henry IV. had indignantly refused. Whilst she was thus bartering her assistance at an unacceptable price, the archduke made himself master of the city and citadel of Calais. Elizabeth, alarmed at such neighbours, became more tractable. Henry IV. had dispatched, first, M. de Sancy, and afterwards, the Duke of Bouillon, accompanied by Perez, to negotiate an alliance offensive and defensive.† Alluding to this alliance, Perez said, in departing, "That therefore his conclusion was, that in the treaty of confederacy between England and

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 459—462.

† *An Historical View*, p. 45.

France, he would play the priest; that is, after he had consummated the bans of that matrimony (as he termed it), he would leave the couple to themselves, to live and love together, and betake himself to other contemplations elsewhere, where he might wear out his age with less danger and jealousy.”*

But Perez had to meet with a cruel mortification; being especially sent to London on account of his intimacy with Essex and his influence over him, he was both greatly surprised and confused at not finding him there. In order to avoid his presence and that of the Duke of Bouillon, Essex had betaken himself to Plymouth.† Why did he thus absent himself at the very moment when the negociation he had so ardently desired was about to be effected and concluded? Enamoured with the glory of warfare, and able to acquire that glory only by combating Philip, Essex had then attained his end. Agreeing in opinion with Admiral Howard of Effingham, he had gained his point in the council over the Cecils, and had prevailed upon Elizabeth to attack, by an expedition, the king of Spain in the very centre of his power. Such a diversion would naturally be very useful to Henry IV.; but Essex fearing lest that prince should require the troops destined for the Spanish enterprize to be landed in

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, t. i. p. 434.

† *Ibid.*, p. 466—473.

France, went to Plymouth to hasten the departure of the fleet, which, formed of a hundred and fifty sail, including twenty-two Dutch vessels, and having on board fourteen thousand men under his orders, set sail, under the command of Admiral Howard, for the coasts of Andalusia.

Perez, whom the earl neither saw nor wrote to, was very angry. He vented his complaints against him before Antony Bacon, who retired to Twickenham *, “not to hear his dear lord’s honour” (as he wrote to his brother,) “hammered upon by him, nor receive his Spanish exclamations and scolding complaints.” Left to himself, suspected by the Cecils as the friend of Essex, and lowered in the opinion of the queen, Antonio Perez took no part in the treaty which was signed, on the 10th of May, between England and France.† Elizabeth, who had just lent twenty thousand crowns to Henry IV., and had ordered all the castles on the coasts of England to be fortified, confirmed the preceding treaties with the king of France; concluded with him an offensive and defensive alliance, to which might be admitted all the powers menaced by the ambition and tyranny of Philip; stipulated to send four thousand foot-soldiers, reduced, by a secret clause, to two thousand, who were to serve for six months in Nor-

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 486.

† Ibid., t. ii. pp. 3, 4.

mandy or Picardy; and, at a subsequent period, the formation of an army, levied at their joint expense, to invade the dominions of the king of Spain. This treaty, adhered to by the States of Holland, was ratified by Elizabeth, on the 29th of August, and in the month of September by Henry IV.*

Perez had returned to France with his pride extremely wounded. There he soon received letters from the Earl of Essex, on his return from his Spanish expedition, which had been brilliant, and might have been still more so. The English fleet had entered, by main force, into the roads of Cadiz, where the Spanish navy then lay, which had been defeated after a vigorous resistance. They had rased the fortifications of that important town, pillaged the stores that had been accumulated there for victualling and equipping the marine, taken or destroyed thirteen ships of war, and the adventurous Earl of Essex, who, at the head of a small band, had carried the city of Puntal by assault, would have advanced without any impediment into the interior of Andalusia, where he would have provoked insurrections, had he not been stopped by the timidity of the council of war that Elizabeth had placed at his side to moderate his ardour.† This expedition revealed the secret of Philip's weakness, whom it was

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.* Brit. Mus., Cott. Caligula E. ix. part i. fol. 80.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21. 46—49. 50, 51.

necessary to attack in his own kingdom, to prevent him from being any longer formidable to his neighbours.

In writing to Perez, as soon as he returned, Essex had wished to renew their former intimacy. He concluded the letter he addressed to him on the 14th of September, 1596, with these words: "But do not cease, Antonio, to love me; nor be hasty in condemning me unheard; wait for Essex's apology."* His object was to make use of Perez again to discover what Henry IV. was projecting, in order to divert that prince from listening to the proposals of the legate then at the court of France, and prevent the peace with Spain.

He reckoned, doubtless, that he should make him the better contribute to his designs, as Henry IV., ever testifying the same confidence towards Perez, was about to attach him to his service. Perez had long demanded it. He had confided the conditions, of which he required the fulfilment, to the hands of the Marquis de Pisani and the constable de Montmorency, who were among the first of his protectors and friends. As these conditions, drawn up in December, 1596, bore rather the character of a treaty than of a petition, Henry IV., before receiving them, caused their form to be altered, and, on the 1st of January, 1597, Perez humbly solicited, first, a car-

* *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 141, 142.

dinal's hat for himself, if his wife was dead; or, in the contrary case, for his son Gonzalo Perez*; secondly, a pension of 12,000 crowns in bishoprics, abbeys and ecclesiastical benefices, with the power to leave it to his children †; thirdly, the payment of his present pension of 4,000 crowns; and, besides, 2,000 crowns upon the treasury, till the period at which the ecclesiastical revenues above mentioned should be entirely conferred upon him ‡; fourthly, a gratification of 2,000 crowns, to establish himself in the rank of counsellor, just granted by the king §; fifthly, a guard of one or two Swiss soldiers, to watch over the safety of his person, ever menaced with the persecution of King Philip II. ||; sixthly, the deliverance of his wife and children, and the restitution of his property, in the event of peace between the crowns of France and Spain. ¶ Henry IV. accepted these articles, which were signed in his name, on the 13th of January, by Villeroy, the Secretary of State, and guaranteed, on the 18th, by

* "Que Su Magd. se sirva de procurarle con effecto capello de cardenal, para sua persona, siendo muerta su muger, ò para Gonzalo Perez su hijo." — *Copia del asiento de Su Magd. con Ant. Perez esta capitulacion ay lo que el Sr. condestable le prometeo en nombre de Su Magd. con palabra de cavallero de ser fiador de lo que le offresce*, MS. Béthune, vol. No. 9141. fol. 3.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

the constable de Montmorency, conformably to the wishes of Perez.*

Being at all times strongly bent on a close alliance between France and England, Perez had sought by turns to bring back to it whichever of these two powers seemed to be going astray. One day he had even said to Henry IV., in presence of Villeroy, formerly minister to the Duke of Mayenne, and suspected of being in the pay of Philip II., that none but madmen could advise him to treat with Spain.† His new position disposed him still more to insist upon maintaining the union between England and France. He saw Henry IV., discontented with the feeble execution of the last treaty concluded with Elizabeth, listening to the proposals of peace of the legate, who, for the same purpose, had sent Calatigirone, the general of the Franciscan friars, to Philip II. In order to prevent this arrangement, which would have been so mortifying for his hatred, he tendered his own mediation between England and France, in the early part of March, 1597. He charged Naunton, the agent of the Earl of Essex at

* "M. le Connetable . . . luy offre de s'employer volontiers de tout son pouvoir en toutes ses affaires et à toutes occasions, et d'apporter tout ce qui dépendra de sa prière et sollicitation, soit envers Sa Majesté et ceux de son conseil, pour l'accomplissement des présents articles. En foy de quoy il a signé la présente réponse, à Ruan, le 18 Janvier, 1597." Ibid.

† Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. i. p. 432.

Paris, to write to the earl to "*act with all possible expedition, delays being full of danger in such a crisis.*"* But, that which the animosity and prudence of Perez desired to prevent, circumstances were about to render inevitable.

The Spaniards, who, in the preceding year, had seized on Ardres, after having made themselves masters of Calais, surprised the city of Amiens, on the 11th of March, 1597. Henry, alarmed at seeing them so near Paris, went immediately to lay siege before Amiens. He claimed of Elizabeth the four thousand men stipulated in the last treaty.† But, according to her tardy and exacting habits, the queen of England proposed to send them only on conditions which Henry IV. could neither accept nor fulfil.‡ She demanded of him either the cession of Boulogne or money. Irritated at her pretensions and delays, Henry then announced to her, by his ambassador, that a very advantageous peace was offered to him by the legate, if he would separate from England, and that they would restore to him all the towns that had been taken, except Ardres and Calais.§ On receiving, for the first time, this official news, Elizabeth gave herself up, in her turn, to one of those fits of passion and arrogance, in which policy had as great a share

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. ii. p. 294.

† An Historical View, pp. 50, 51.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

as temper. She wrote him a letter, in which she said that, between the pope and her, there was this difference, that the pope had wanted to make him his subject, but that she had made him a king. She concluded with these words: "See on which side is the best, and, by this rule, may God give you grace to guide this affair."* But, amid these passionate reproaches, which foreboded an early separation between these two ancient allies, no succours arrived from England; and Henry IV., unaided, took Amiens again, on the 24th of September, 1597, after a siege of six months.

This event was decisive. Philip, seventy years old, overwhelmed with infirmities, exhausted by pleasures, and worn out by business, saw his end approaching, and wished not to leave the conduct of a war, now become difficult for himself, to his son, whom he knew to be incapable of governing the Spanish monarchy even in peace. He therefore showed himself disposed to treat seriously with the king of France, and the negotiations, after having been prepared by the mediation of the pope, were opened at Vervins, in the early part of February, 1598. Before he commenced proceedings, Henry sent M. Hurault de Maisse to England, in December 1597, to give notice to Elizabeth and propose to

* May 5, 1597. British Museum, Cotton Libr. Caligula E ix. fol. 398.

her to take a part in the treaty, together with the states general of the United Provinces. Elizabeth answered, "that she would prefer death to any agreement with such a worthless king."* She even despatched Sir Robert Cecil to France, whither the states general sent on their side Justin de Nassau and the celebrated Barneveld, in order to attempt one last effort with Henry, and divert him from concluding the peace.† But that prince had taken his resolution; he showed himself grateful for the services that his ancient confederates had rendered him; declared he would never be wanting in the friendship he owed them; and, rejecting equally their reproaches and their offers, gave peace to his kingdom, exhausted by forty years of civil or foreign wars. Within a few months he treated with the Duke of Mercœur, the last rebel chief of the League, whom he forced to submission in Brittany; with the French Protestants, to whom he granted the edict of Nantes; and with the king of Spain, who restored to him, at Vervins, all the cities of which he was master in Picardy.

As soon as this peace with Philip, which was to alter the position of Perez, had been seriously projected, the latter had become an object of distrust to Henry and his court.‡ Nor without reason.

* January 4, 1598. Brit. Mus. Cott. Caligula, E. ix. fol. 409.

† An Historical View, p. 56.

‡ Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. ii. p. 286.

Though counsellor of state and pensioner of the King of France, he had maintained, through the medium of Naunton, secret relations with the English government; to which he gave notice of whatever he heard or discovered.* His conversations with the cardinal-legate, and his own sagacity, having put him long previously upon the track of the negotiations †, he had informed Naunton of them, recommending him not to name him, on pain of ruining his credit. But these revelations, although indirect and enveloped in mystery, had been surprised or suspected by the King of France, who had, from that moment, considered him as suspicious, and treated him as such. Henry ceased to see him, and kept him away from his confidence and councils. ‡ He even caused him to be reproached with writing to England about the affairs of France. § Perez defended himself warmly as against a *calumny*, and sent Gil de Mesa to the constable de Montmorency with a petition, in which he said: "I beg your Lordship to do me the favour to ask his Majesty to verify the deed, and, if it be false,

* Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, t. ii. pp. 286. 294.

† In a letter of the 29th of November, 1597, Naunton wrote to Essex: "Antonio Perez considers the care they take to satisfy the Protestants as an infallible sign that peace is being concluded with Spain." — *An Historical View*, p. 62.

‡ Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

§ "That Perez had greatly misdemeaned himself of late in writing into England that peace was either already concluded, or as good!" Ibid., p. 64.

as it is indeed, to declare so, for my satisfaction, as justice requires, and to permit me to retire from his dominions and the court of princes where one is exposed to so many perils and is so ill-judged, before they make me lose there my health and my life." * At the same time he pretended to be ill †, never leaving his room, and employing Gil de Mesa and the Italian Marengo, to carry his messages and complaints to his friend the constable, who gave him fair words to his protectress the king's sister, who still preserved the same interest for him, and to the king himself who, though remaining silent, would not cease to appear well disposed. ‡ Perez acted this farce during the months of November and December, 1597. Towards the end of the latter month, Naunton, in relating to the Earl of Essex a conversation he had had with Perez, wrote to him: "From this particular act he responded to the king's vacillations and fluctuations, as he termed them, his general uncertainty in his counsels, his inconstancy in his affections, his recanting of his resolutions, in a word, his perseverance only in doing in all things *à demi*." §

However, in the month of January in the following year, when there was no longer any doubt about

* MS. Béthune, vol. No. 9141. fol. 14, 15.

† An Historical View, p. 79.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid., p. 97.

the negotiations with Spain, and when MM. de Bellièvre and de Sillery were just departing with their instructions for Vervins, Perez wished, at least, to profit by a peace that he had not succeeded in preventing, and solicited the King to include him in the treaty. "I entreat your Majesty," wrote he, "to remember what, in your grandeur and bounty, you offered me in one of the articles, signed by M. de Villeroy, concerning the deliverance of my wife and children, and the restitution of my property.* The time and opportunity are now come for your Majesty to show your natural compassion in one of the most lamentable cases of this century, by fulfilling your royal word.† Your Majesty will do an action agreeable to heaven and glorious for yourself before the world; without that, the King of Spain would think those articles and promises were but a vain ceremony, and would see in them a sort of sanction to accomplish my ruin, in full security."‡ At the same time he informed Henry IV. that he had received from Spain an intimation that the Catholic King was to propose, in the treaty, an article in favour of the Duke of Aumale, who had taken refuge in Brussels at the time when the other princes of the house of Lorraine had submitted; and he asked him to stipulate in return for the liberation of his family and the restitution of his property.§ He received, it seems,

* *Cartas de Ant. Perez*, p. 572.

† *Ibid.*, p. 573.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 574.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 572.

an assurance to this effect, and he affirms that, at the end of the negotiation of Vervins, the French plenipotentiaries made this the condition of the return of the Duke of Aumale to his country and his property. He pretends moreover, that Richardot and Tassis, the Spanish plenipotentiaries, refused it, because Perez was not, like the Duke of Aumale, exiled for having participated in troubles and a civil war against his King, but for having been condemned by the Inquisition.* I have read however nothing of the kind in the instructions given to Bellièvre and Sillery, or in their despatches.† On the contrary, it was formally prescribed to them to reject from the treaty both the Duke of Aumale and the Leaguers, who had remained obstinate in their rebellion, and whose pardon Henry IV. reserved for himself, if they made an humble submission‡, unwilling to allow them to re-enter France in open rebellion by virtue of a treaty, with the protection of another king, and, as it were, in triumph. The name of Perez is not once mentioned in the course of the negotiation, though the Duke of Aumale's frequently occurs.§ How, indeed, would Henry IV. have departed in regard to the very secondary interests of Perez from a fundamental principle of conduct which, at the termination of long civil wars

* *Cartas de Ant. Perez*, pp. 480, 481.

† See *Mémoires de Bellièvre et de Sillery*, in 8vo. La Haye 1696, pp. 16. 31. 73. 76. 121. 239. 255. 302. 320.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 74. 321. 356.

fomented by a foreign prince was to contribute to the strengthening of his authority and to the repose of his kingdom? Perhaps he made this promise to Perez, and the future pardon of the Duke of Aumale was, after the negotiation, verbally offered as a compensation for that which was solicited by Perez. It is certain, that the Earl of Rochepot, sent as ambassador to Spain in 1600, was charged by Henry IV. to intercede for Perez and his children.* But it is just as certain that the Duke of Aumale was not included in the peace of Vervins, signed May 2nd, 1598: and that the wife and children of Perez remained in the prisons of Philip II. The misfortunes of Perez were to be alleviated only by the death of his implacable enemy. It is true this consolation was not long delayed, Philip having survived the peace of Vervins only four months.

It will not be uninteresting to see, in a manuscript life of Philip II. attributed to Perez, how the last moments of this King are described: "Death," says the manuscript, "would not destroy him without having made him aware that the princes and monarchs of the earth have as miserable and shameful ways of leaving it as the poor. He was inundated with a foul *phitiriasis*, accompanied by a whole swarm of lice. But present suffering did not cause him so

* Instruction to M. de la Rochepot, and in the *Mémoires de Duplessis-Mornay*, Paris, 1824, t. ix. p. 355.

much apprehension as his future fate ; for, when he conjured up the abyss of Divine justice, and the account he had to give it of so many days, so many actions, so much blood shed in mere waste, he would rather have been born a poor shepherd than the monarch of Spain.*

“The slow fever that had been undermining his constitution for three years, and the most violent gout that could ever have tortured a human body, had prepared him for death long before the end of his days. Accordingly, he was so divested of every intention and every idea of living, that a gentleman of his chamber having told him that, if he changed his room and removed into another beneath, which was more cheerful, the physicians affirmed he might live two years longer, his only reply was, ‘Give this image of Our Lady to the Infanta. It belonged to my mother, and I have worn it about me for fifty years.’ He spoke of his death as of a royal entrance into the best of his cities, and of his funeral as he might have done of his coronation, saying, ‘You must tie a cord round my hands, from which a wooden crucifix may hang down upon my breast. I will die with that

* Breve Compendio y Elogio de la Vida de el Rey Phelipe Segundo de España, por Ant. Perez, MS. in the Biblioth. Roy. French Supplement, No. 2502. fol. 39. In another manuscript which I possess, the same Life of Philip II. is attributed to Perez under the following title: “Vida reservada del Señor Rey Phelipe II., por Ant. Perez.

crucifix; for, with it, died the emperor, my lord and father.*

“He was no longer alive to anything but the thought of his sins, and this was so painful to him, that, when his attendants had made an incision in his leg, on the prince, his son, asking him whether this new wound caused him much suffering, he answered, ‘I have many other pangs; but I leave everything to the will of God.’ All his complaints and groans were confined to saying, ‘May this be for the remission of my sins.’ He received the extreme unction in presence of his son, to whom he afterwards addressed these words, ‘I wished you might see how end the reigns of this world. You see to-day, my son, how God has already divested me of the glory and majesty of a kiug, to invest you with them; as for me, in a few hours, they will clothe me in a miserable shroud, and gird me with a poor cord. The kingly crown is already falling from my brow, and death takes it from me to give it to you. A day will come when this crown will fall from your head as it does from mine. You are young, as I have been. My days are numbered and are now ending; God knows the number of yours: but they will finish in their turn. I recommend to you war against infidels and peace with France. †

“The prince, believing that all was now over, and

* Breve Compendio, etc., fol. 41, 42.

† Ibid., fol. 40, 43.

desirous of establishing his favourite, the Marquis de Denia, in time, demanded of Don Christoval de Moura the golden key of the secret cabinet. But the latter declined, saying, that he could not give it so long as the King was alive. The prince felt hurt, and showed some resentment at this circumstance. Don Christoval complained of it to the King, who, though he found the request rather premature, ordered Don Christoval to give the key to the prince and to ask his pardon. After the ceremony of extreme unction, he turned, like Ezechias, his face towards the wall and his back upon the world. He desired that his soul should no longer be bound down to worldly matters, but should look towards heaven. * He died at length a calm and easy death, on Sunday the 13th of September, at five o'clock in the evening." †

* Breve Compendio, etc., fol. 44, 45.

† Ibid., p. 45. .

CHAPTER VIII.

USELESS EFFORTS OF PEREZ TO RE-ENTER SPAIN AFTER THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP III. — LIBERATION OF HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN. — PEREZ'S VOYAGE TO ENGLAND, IN THE HOPE OF OBTAINING HIS PARDON BY CONTRIBUTING TO THE PEACE THAT WAS BEING NEGOTIATED BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND ENGLISH GOVERNMENTS. — HIS RETURN TO FRANCE. — HIS DEATH.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Philip II., the report was spread in Europe that this prince, upon his death-bed, had ordered the liberation of Perez's wife and children, together with the restitution of their property.* People even published some secret instructions that had been left to his son Philip III., in which he had recommended him to come to an understanding with Perez, and to employ him in

* "Luego corrió voz y avisos a todas partes del testamento que dexava. Unos mostravan en Flandes copias del, o de parte del, otros lo que contenia. Entre aquello referian capitulo tocante al descargo de alma en las cosas de Antonio Perez. . . . Unos los referian en lleno, que avia dexado orden que diessen luego libertad a la muger y hijos de Ant. Perez y que le restituyessen toda su hazienda." — *Cartas de Ant. Perez a un señor Amigo*, p. 469, 470.

Italy; without, however, ever permitting him to return to Spain or to reside in the Low-Countries.*

Confidence returned to the soul of the old proscribed minister; he had formerly been on very friendly terms with the new king's favourite, Don Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, Marquis de Denia, who long governed the Spanish monarchy so absolutely, under the name of the Duke of Lerma. "I have known him from his youth," wrote he to one of his friends, "to be of an excellent, gentle and noble character. In the course of my misfortunes and during my captivity, his relations detested the author of my persecutions, and spoke freely against the favourites of that period, who were fed on my fortune and clothed in my stolen garments. His father loved me . . . ; he was attached to the party of Ruy Gomez de Silva, and was entirely devoted to him. His first-cousins, sons of Don Hernando de Rojas, were born and educated in the house of the fathers of Dona Juana Coëllo. They grew up hand in hand with my wife and her relations . . . ; he himself came to visit me publicly in prison, and thus exposed himself to the king's anger."† These recollections strengthened still more the hopes with

* *Economies Royales de Sully*. Collect. Petitot, 2^{me} serie, t. iii. p. 254. Palma Cayet, *Chronologie Septénaire* in 8vo. Paris, 1605, p. 29. Meteren, *Hist. des Pays-Bas*, in fol., La Haye, p. 443.

† *Cartas de Ant. Perez a un señor Amigo*, p. 502, 503.

which he had been inspired by the death of his obstinate persecutor, as well as by the accession to the throne of a young prince, who would, doubtless, signalize the beginning of his reign by acts of clemency and kindness. He believed in a speedy return of fortune.

Six months, however, passed away without effecting any change in his situation or that of his family. Philip III. departed from Madrid, in the month of April, 1599, to espouse the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, at Valencia, who, on her side, repaired thither by Genoa. It was then only that a notary presented himself at the fortress where Dona Juana Coëllo was confined, with her seven children: "Madam," said he to her, "his Majesty orders you to be set at liberty. You may go to court and wherever you may think proper; but your children must remain here."* Dona Juana was greatly perplexed at this intelligence; she would not accept so imperfect a favour, and leave among soldiers and alguazils her daughter Dona Gregoria, twenty years of age, entrusted with the care of three brothers and three sisters younger than herself.† But, after violently struggling with her feelings, she determined to go, in order to be able to solicit their deliverance."‡

* Cartas de Ant. Perez a un señor Amigo, p. 473.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

She repaired to court, and visited first Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce, whom Perez calls his *chief executioner*.* On seeing her, Vasquez shed hypocritical tears.† Dona Juana Coëllo had the consolation of witnessing the sudden downfall of this minister of the vengeance of Philip II., then eighty years of age, who had been so relentless towards her husband, herself, and her children. The presidency of the royal council of Castile was suddenly taken from him, and he received an order to leave the court, and not to approach within twenty leagues of Madrid or ten of Valladolid.‡ Count de Miranda, who became his successor, by the favour of the Marquis de Denia, whose merciful protection soon extended from the wife of Perez to her children, showed himself very favourable towards that captive and denuded family.§ Perez's seven children left the prison where they had been confined nine years, and where the youngest first saw the light of day. They were even permitted to sue Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce for the restitution of the twenty thousand crowns which he had taken out of an ecclesiastical revenue, granted by Pope Gregory XIII. to Gonzalo, the eldest of them, and which Vasquez had employed in paying alguazils to guard them.||

* "Verdugo mayor Rodrigo Vasquez." — *Carta*, etc., p. 495.

† *Ibid.*, p. 474.

‡ *Carta* a M. Geronimo Gondi, p. 600.

§ *Carta* a un señor Amigo, p. 475.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 474, 475.

“That president of the council of Castile,” says Perez in his indignation, “who, at the age of four-score, believed himself so far from the sepulchre, that man whose aspect was so composed, whose hypocrisy was so refined, and whom they had called, in the commencement of his fortune, and, as if to give warning to every body, a *pickled clove of garlic*, even he, took twenty thousand crowns from the income of a child placed in the Church by the favour of the Sovereign Pontiff Gregory XIII. He took them to feed his myrmidons and ravenous servants, in order that they might mortify the bodies and souls of those poor sufferers for his diversion, being unable to have them served up at his table, as human flesh is not yet exposed at the public shambles And the best of it is, that the infant possessor of this revenue, as well as his mother, brothers, and sisters were left naked by him; he made them live by measuring food out to them, without using the mercy they invoked to allow them to starve at once Whenever they asked him for bread, or for clothes to cover themselves with, in order that those young girls might not be exposed to the gaze of his myrmidons, he answered: ‘that he durst not take it upon himself; that he would consult the King about it; that his Majesty was very angry; that his Majesty was the person to apply to;’ thus every thing depended on his Majesty. ‘O miserable president of justice (had you

been the president of mercy and charity, you would have been made happy by such actions, both in this life and in those hours of eternity which you are now beginning), why did you not tell the King that it was not just? Why did you not appease him, if he was angry? Why did you, without his orders, squander away twenty thousand crowns, distributed among your executioners, and then set these faults down to his Majesty's account? Why was this? Because it was you who wished to injure, and who inflamed the anger of the King. In all this you were the king. You were afraid of seeing restored to his rank that man who had promoted you from your grade of bachelor to raise you up to his own place But Vasquez is now before the eternal tribunal."*

Rodrigo Vasquez had indeed not survived his disgrace †, which the public voice considered as a special chastisement for his injustice towards Perez and his family. ‡ He died before the council of Castile had come to any decision respecting the demand of the restitution of the twenty thousand crowns, which the Count de Miranda had encouraged on the part of

* Cartas de Ant. Perez a un señor Amigo, pp. 479. 481.

† Ibid., p. 478.

‡ "Que la voz commun, mi advogado y procurador principal, corriò, que por los agravios de Ant. Perez, y de sus hijos, y muger. Assy venia escripto en cartas a Flandes, y a otras partas. Assy se dizia por aquellas calles de Madrid." Ibid., p. 474.

Dona Juana Coëllo, and which the latter had brought against Vasquez.

This alleviation of the sufferings of Perez's family was accompanied by a judicious act of clemency towards the Aragonese who had taken any part in the insurrection and attempted resistance in 1591. The pacific Marquis de Denia persuaded his docile sovereign to conciliate the affection of the kingdom of Aragon, in abolishing the remembrance of the crime committed and the punishments decreed, by granting a general pardon.* Philip III. visited that kingdom soon after his nuptial festivities at Valencia. He arrived in the evening of the 11th of September, near Saragossa, which he refused to enter until they had removed the heads of Don Juan de la Miza, Don Diego de Heredia, and the other sufferers, which were still exposed on the gates of the city † and the palace of the deputation. On the same evening the Count de Morata led to the convent, where the king had stopped to pass the night, the sons of Don Diego de Heredia who applied suppliantly to the Marquis de Denia. The latter immediately repaired to the King. "I know what they demand," said the young prince, "let them go and take their father's head and all the

* D. Jos. Ysaban y Blanco, *Historia General de España*, continuation of Mariana, in 8vo. Mad. 1821, t. xvii. *Tablas chronologicas*.

† Gonzalez Davila, *Historia de la Vida y Hechos de Felipe Tercero*, in Salazar's *Monarchia de España*, fol. Mad. 1771, t. iii. fol. 76.

others ; let the sentences of death be effaced from the walls, that no trace remain, and let them be restored to all their property.”* He ordered, at the same time, that an honourable burial should be granted to the remains of those who had perished at the stake, that the banished should be recalled, and the prisoners set at liberty, “in order,” added he, “that none of my subjects may have any cause of sorrow on the day of my rejoicing.”† He swore, in the metropolitan church, to observe the *fueros* of the kingdom ‡, but those *fueros* remained modified as they had been by Philip II. in the Cortes that had followed the defeat of the Aragonese army ; thus, the reconciliation was effected for the profit of individuals, but at the expense of institutions.

On hearing these good tidings which were communicated in letters from Spain, Perez flattered himself that the royal pardon would be soon extended even to him. He expected that moment with an impatience which he sometimes endeavoured to disguise under an appearance of philosophical resignation, very foreign to his ardent disposition. “Your Lordship,” said he to one of his friends, “has sent me, in your letter, advice or remedies for the wounds of fortune. I receive them with pleasure, as coming

* Cartas de Ant. Perez a un señor Amigo, p. 484.

† Historia de la Vida y Hechos de Felipe Tercero, fol. 76. col. 1, 2.

‡ Ibid., fol. 76. col. 2.

from the hand of a friend, and I am happy to see that what, in your Lordship's judgment, is a remedy, is conformable to my disposition. . . . From my earliest youth, I saw my father and his friends in the stormy region of courts; I immediately began to dread it; I wished to avoid it, and quit the vessel where I had just scarcely set my foot."* Concerning the life of courtiers and the favours of princes, he offered some shrewd and profound observations which he derived from Ruy Gomez de Silva: "that great favourite," says he, "that prince of favourites, so well versed in the knowledge of kings, was the Aristotle of the philosophy of courts." † He ended by saying that fortune was only an idea, a vanity, a mere shadow, melting away and vanishing like smoke. "You will think that I speak thus like the fox, because I cannot reach it. . . . But what one has professed, used, and known by experience and such sad trials, it is easy to believe is no longer desired. I will add a few words in confirmation of the natural indifference which I have reached upon this subject. I lived, for three years, in a house at Paris, opposite the hotel of Burgundy, where plays are performed, and at the side of the hotel de Mendoca (a neighbourhood that I had not chosen on account of its name), in which everybody went to see a rope-dancer who made such

* Cartas de Ant. Perez a un señor Amigo, p. 636.

† "Aquel gran privado aquel maestro de privados y de conocimiento de reyes . . . y el Aristoteles desta philosophia." Ibid.

steps and took such dangerous leaps, that the sight of them caused more astonishment than the recital. Yet I never once set my foot inside those hotels, though I saw crowds entering every day, princes, ladies, and people of every degree. The reason is, I have seen many original comedies represented by great actors, among whom I acted my part in the most eminent place in the theatre. I have seen people rope-dancing; I have danced on the rope myself; I have seen those dancers fall to the ground with their limbs broken, and even I who am speaking to you broke my back at it. . . . Now, as nothing more takes away the desire of reading the copy of a letter than the perusal of the original, so, I cannot be tempted to go to those comedies, which are but copies, and for the most part done by bad transcribers. The original comedies might very well be seen from a box; but to figure therein a second time as an actor, there is too much danger, and I am too much afraid. Adieu.”*

This contempt of fortune, expressed in such a tone of conviction and in so piquant a manner, was in reality insincere: it was much rather the reflection suggested to Perez by his disgrace than his disgust for ambition. He ardently desired to return to his native land. He found himself ill at ease in the French court, where he had become useless and suspected ever since the peace of Vervins: he was

* *Cartas de Ant. Perez, etc.*, p. 639, 640.

incessantly complaining of his pension not being punctually paid, and of their not granting him the ecclesiastical benefices that he had been promised by the convention of 1597, of which his friend the constable had been guarantee.* He often had recourse to the latter whom he pestered with his letters and overwhelmed with his flattery †, and to whom he even sent little presents which derived all their value from his graceful manner of offering them. It is thus he wrote to him ‡: "I see that your Excellency never wears gloves perfumed with amber, but thin kid gloves. May your Excellency do me the favour to try these, which I have had arranged in my old fashion; as a Spaniard, I am vain enough to believe that they have a certain *hidalgo* appearance, and, thin as they are, they will preserve the hands. Now, hands that are employed so nobly and so delicately for the public good and for the welfare of those who are recom-

* See p. 277.

† As his letters prove. See Béthune's collection, No. 9141.

‡ "Yo veo que nunca trae V. Exc. guantes de ambar sino de los delgadillos de cabrito. Prueve V. Exc. le suplico esos que yo hayo adereszar a mi modo antiguo, fuera vanidad que soy Español, que tienen no se que de hidalgo y con ser limpios conservan bien las manos. Y manos que se emplean en el bien publico y en el de los que se le encomiendan con tanta entereça y limpieça deven ser estimadas y conservadas por muchos annos de vida. Assy sea. Amen, Amen." — Oct. 1599. Béthune, 9141, fol. 99.

mended to them, ought to be considered precious and preserved during a long life. So be it,"

His complaints were as incessant as his wants, which savoured somewhat of his former opulence. He vented them with a bitterness of which he was less master every day, and he charged the constable to second the complaints he made to the king: "Rosny will not pay me," wrote he early in 1601; "and I have been in debt for three months for the bread I am eating." * Accompanying this complaint with menaces, anything but prudent for his position, he added, "Gil de Mesa has told M. de la Varenna that, if the king himself was unwilling, he should say so at once, and that they ought not to be deceiving us for their amusement, which is a paltry victory for so great a prince, and that Antonio Perez would look out for another master whom he might serve. . . . Surely the crown of France must have a squeamish stomach, if such a trifle derange it." † Henry IV., who notwithstanding his pecuniary difficulties and the reasons which Perez had given him for displeasure, retained a sort of indulgent benevolence for the former minister of Philip II., and still protected him against the ill-will of Rosny and Villeroy, immedi-

* "Y Roni non quiere, y ha tres meses que devo el pan que como." — *Letter from Perez to the Constable*, Feb. 1601, Béhune, 9141. fol. 63.

† "Por cierto chico estomago tiene la corona de Francia si tan pequena partida embaraça." Ibid.

ately ordered him to be paid, and in the form desired by Perez himself: "My friend," wrote he to Rosny, "Antonio Perez has been to me to thank me for the three thousand crowns that I gave him, and to testify how very satisfied and how much obliged to me he was for that sum, entreating me to have him inscribed upon the state for four thousand, in order that, if by chance the Spaniards had any knowledge of it, they might not know that he was worse treated this year than the preceding ones. For this reason, to satisfy the vanity of this man, I beg you to employ him upon the said state for the said sum of four thousand crowns."*

This precarious position, this pension (the payment of which he was obliged to squeeze out every year), the dispiriting sense of his uselessness, the humiliation of his discredit, and the increasing sorrows of exile, made Perez desire more than ever to return to his native land. He strove with redoubled activity to obtain this favour. The timid James I. having succeeded Elizabeth upon the throne of England, and peace being as much desired by him as it had become necessary to exhausted Spain, negotiations were set on foot in the beginning of 1604. Count d'Aremberg and Don Juan de Tassis repaired to London for this purpose; and Perez thought he had found the opportunity for his re-

* *Economies Royales de Sully*, Coll. Petitot, 2me série. t. iv. pp. 109, 110.

storation to favour. He had continued to maintain a rather close acquaintance with the ambassadors of England who had succeeded each other at Paris; and he had given to Naunton, Winwood, and Thomas Parry, timely notices, which they had forwarded to Cecil, secretary of state.* He then persuaded Thomas Parry that he could interfere advantageously in the negotiations about to be opened; and Parry encouraged him to depart for England, assuring him that he would be welcome †: he even gave him a letter for Robert Cecil. Perez, hoping to serve the interests of Philip III., and to be recalled to Spain by that prince, had the imprudent levity, not only to quit Paris, but to resign his pension.

Villeroy, the secretary of state, wrote instantly to Christophe de Harlay, Count de Beaumont, the French ambassador in England: "Take good care, over there, lest Antonio Perez, who has told us he returns thither, should, by his usual flattery and adulation, surprise the hearts of the courtiers and ladies, as he intends, and thus do, on this occasion, such signal service to the King of Spain, that he will merit his restoration to the property and honours he formerly possessed. Never did I meet with so

* Ed. Sawyer, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I.*, collected from the Papers of R. Winwood, fol. London, 1725. t. i. p. 366—404, 405—407.

† Letter from M. de Beaumont to Villeroy, February 29. 1604. MSS. Béthune, No. 9994. fol. 123.

much vanity and imprudence, accompanied by so much presumption, in any person. . . . Observe what he will say and do; and inform us of it, as well as of all other things, even the minutest; for the King takes great pleasure in them, as he has commanded me again to write to you.”*

Henry IV. having heard, by information received from Spain, that Perez purposed penetrating the intentions and wishes of James I., to communicate them afterwards to Don Juan de Velasco, constable of Castile, entrusted with the final arrangement of the negotiation, apprised his ambassador of this project. “He hopes thus,” wrote he, “to make holiday; but I fancy he will find himself mistaken.”† Henry IV. was right. As soon as James I. was informed that Perez had begun his journey he told Count de Beaumont that he had no desire to see him, and that, knowing how very disagreeable his presence would be to the Spanish ambassador, who had a very bad opinion of him, he had ordered him to go back again. In effect, Lord Montjoy, Earl of Devonshire, had sent this order to Perez, who had received it at Boulogne.‡ The adventurous exile,

* Letter from M. de Villeroy to M. de Beaumont, January 18. 1604. MSS. Béthune, No. 9993. fol. 158.

† Letter from Henry IV. to M. de Beaumont, March 6. 1604. MSS. Béthune, No. 9994. fol. 147.

‡ Letter from M. de Beaumont to M. de Villeroy, February 29. 1604. Ibid., fol. 122.

who had just renounced so rashly the generous assistance of Henry IV., and who had now no other resource but to succeed in the enterprise upon which he had embarked so inconsiderately, was not deterred from passing further. He crossed the sea, landed in England, and advanced as far as Canterbury *, whence he wrote to King James, forwarding him the letter by which Thomas Parry had urged him to undertake this voyage. † He invoked the sanction that had been granted him, showed himself much surprised at the humiliating counter-order they had notified to him, instead of the favours they had promised, and added: "This is why I turn to your Majesty. I appeal to your justice, in order that you, whose name and word have been staked, may examinè with your prudence, weigh, and decide what, in such a business, in the critical point in which things now are, and according to the law of nature, is suitable to the royal majesty, and is due to a foreigner who is not unknown to the world, and who confides in such a word. If, moreover, my presence may interpose any obstacle to the business

* Letter from M. de Beaumont to M. de Villeroy, Feb. 29. 1604, MSS. Béthune, No. 9990, fol. 122.

† "Illustrissime Domine, parata omnia, Mercurius, Posidonius, Æolus, dii deæque omnes propitii te expectant, eluctatis angustiis, ut feliciter pergas quo te fata trahunt. Votum pro te meum, et votiva parieti affigetur tabula. Vale. Tuae dignitatis studiosissimus, Thomas Parry." Brit. Mus., Cotton., Caligula E. vii. fol. 305.

now in hand, although I am not a Jonas, on account of whom the seas and the other elements ought to be troubled, I will retire into some obscure corner of your kingdom, under your protection and with your favour; which will suffice me, in order that nations be not astonished and may not desire to know why Antonio Perez alone should be refused what is not denied to any exile or any fugitive in a free and powerful kingdom.*

* Here is the whole of the letter sent by Perez, from Canterbury, to King James:—

“*Sacra regia Majestas, in verbo tui oratoris Thomæ Parry tuo nomine mihi soli sæpius dato, promittentis non solum liberum accessum in tuum regnum, sed gratias et favores plurimos eodem tuo nomine, hoc iter suscepi. Quis non crederet prophetæ Dei? Tales oratores principum sicut dii ipsi. Postea in medio itinere mihi fuit scriptum (ut) sisterem per aliquod tempus et considerationes. Dum autem ego suspensus tali novitate de recessu cogitarem, ecce orator tuæ Majestatis, Sacra Majestas, litteras salvi conductus mittit, Constantio cursori regio per alias sua manu scriptas mandat ut mihi adsit in hoc itinere: me instanter rogat ut, quocunque modo possim, progrediar ad istud regnum, nonobstantibus litteris ad me scriptis. Hæc fuerunt in causa quod huc appulerim, non sine periculo meæ salutis, senectutis et vitæ: quod potius gratias meretur et præmium quam repulsam et notam. Statim ut huc perveni, mihi declaratum est nomine tuæ Majestatis ne ulterius procedam, relicta mihi libera electione redeundi. Si in hoc meo adventu aliquis intercedit error, non est meus: quod constare potest et testimoniis manu oratoris tuæ Majestatis, quorum exemplar mitto. Hac de causa ad tuam Majestatem me converto, ad tuam æquitatem et judicium provoco, ut ipsamet, ipsa, inquam, cujus nomen et verbum interpositum est, sua prudentia consideret, compenset, decernat quod in tali accidenti, eoque redactis rebus, debeatur et legi*”

James, on hearing of his arrival, burst into a violent passion: he tore his beard with rage, said his ambassador at Paris *was an ass, unworthy of his mission*, and that he would no longer employ him; and swore he would rather leave England himself than allow Perez to remain there.* Accordingly, Perez was obliged to return to the Continent, without having been able to contribute to the peace, which was signed in August, 1604, by the constable of Castile and the Earl of Devonshire, between Spain and England, after a quarter of a century of religious and naval hostilities. † Detested by the Spaniards, whom he wished to serve, but who always considered

naturali et regiæ majestati, et peregrino gentibus non ignoto et in tali fide confidenti. Sin autem præsentibus rebus publicis aliquo modo impedimento esse potest mea presentia: etiamsi non sum Jonas cujus causa nec maria nec reliqua elementa turbari debent, recedam in aliquod privatum locum tui regni cum tua protectione et gratia quod mihi satis erit; ne admirantur gentes et scire desiderent causas quæ me moverunt et cur Antonio Perezio soli negetur quod nemini, nec profugo nec fugitivo, in libero et supremo regno. Datum Dorobernii, 23 Feb. stylo novo. Tuæ Sacræ Majestatis humilissimus servus.

“Postscriptum. — Sacra Majestas, considera (te humiliter obsecro,) ista verba oratoris tuæ Majestatis quorum exemplar hic intus volui apponere, et tua æquitas ipsa et auctoritas regiæ sit judex, plura et majora pignora mei adventus habeo.”—MSS. Brit. Mus., Cott., Caligula E. vii. fol. 306.

* Letter from M. de Beaumont to M. de Villeroy, February 29. 1604. MSS. Béthune, No. 9994. fol. 123.

† Rymer, Acta Publica, in fol. La Haye, 1742. t. vii. p. 117.

him as a rebel, and being an object of suspicion to the English, who believed him to be sent by Henry IV. to interrupt necessary negotiations, he returned to France full of confusion, where he had already compromised himself by the flightiness of his character and the inconstant levity of his sentiments. "The English have sent Perez back to us rather uncivilly," wrote Villeroy to Count de Beaumont. "He now asks back, as alms, that pension of twelve thousand *livres* which his Majesty gave him before he departed; for here we know his ability, and estimate it as it deserves, as they do yonder, and, perhaps, still more. He says M. Cecil had prepared him this trick, in concert with the Spanish ambassador, for the affection he bore to the Earl of Essex. Sir, the truth is, that his adversities have not made him much wiser or more discreet than he was in his prosperity. *

The Spanish court was far from feeling in the least obliged to Perez for the motives that had led him to England. Two months after the conclusion of the peace in London, the Duke of Lerma even complained to Count de la Rochepot, Henry's ambassador at Madrid, of his master's having harboured Perez and other Spaniards in his dominions; which, giving rise to suspicions, prevented a real and per-

* Letter from M. de Villeroy to M. de Beaumont, March 9. 1604. MSS. Béthune, No. 9994. fol. 160, 161.

manent reconciliation between the two kings.* La Rochepot, in order to dissipate this mistrust, reminded him that Perez and the other refugees had received hospitality in France during the war, and not since the peace. † At all events, that hospitality became very limited for Perez since his return. Lodged no longer at Paris, but at Saint Denis ‡, that personage, lately so magnificent and haughty, but now tamed by misery, entreated with humble supplications the restitution of his pension. He invoked the generosity of Henry IV.; he sent to Villeroy the eldest of his sons, Don Gonzalo, who had come to join him in France, with his brother Don Raphael; and he recurred especially to the benevolent intercession of the constable de Montmorency. At one moment, he thought that the French court would treat him as before, and he wrote to the constable: "It only remains for your lordship with M. de Villeroy to accomplish this miracle with your hand; for I have so little good fortune, that it requires a miracle to bring about any resolution favourable to me."§ Then, pressed by

* Una platica que tubo el ambaxador de Francia con el Señor Duque de Lerma. Papers of Simancas, series B. file 81. No. 304—309.

† Ibid.

‡ Mercure François, 1611, t. ii. fol. 291.

§ Perez's Letter to the Constable, MSS. Béthune, vol. 9141. fol. 30.

the cruel extremities to which he was now reduced, he added, in sad and affecting language: "As I think that my son has not made your Excellency properly understand, through the shame of seeing me proceed to such audacity as to ask bread of your Excellency, after so many favours and benefits for which I am indebted to you, I entreat your Excellency to assist me by some alms of your natural charity and liberality, till we know the determination of the king."*

But his pension was never restored. Accordingly, he saw himself reduced to try his last endeavours to return to Spain. He had left Saint Denis and gone to live at Saint Lazare, in order the more easily to visit and gain over to his interest Don Balthazar de Zuñiga, the Spanish ambassador. The latter having departed for Madrid, in 1606 †, Perez conjured him to obtain for him the favour to see his native land once more, and to go back and die among his own countrymen. When he heard that Don Balthazar de Zuñiga was travelling back to Paris, in 1607, he wrote to the Constable de Montmorency: "The return of Don Balthazar de Zuñiga allows me to hope for some sort of resolution; or, rather, to be un-

* Perez's Letter to the Constable, MSS. Béthune, vol. 9141, fol. 30.

† In the beginning of 1606, D. Balthazar de Zuñiga received permission to leave Paris for a moment. See the letter of Philip III. to that ambassador, Jan. 28, 1606, in the Papers of Simancas, in the archives of the kingdom, series A, file 58. No. 124.

deceived, for that is the term assigned to this lure as I wrote yesterday to the very Christian king. I shall resolve therefore to live and die without suffering any longer the torments of human hopes. Though I am well aware how deceitful they are, I thought I was obliged to make this last effort in order to show to the world that, if I stop there, it is not for want of patience, or of employing, on my side, all the justifications at my command. Strong in this sentiment, I leave the rest to God and the day of judgment." * Zuñiga returned, in fact, without bringing any pardon for the unhappy exile. Though he must now have been thoroughly undeceived, yet, when Don Pedro de Toledo succeeded Zuñiga, as ambassador at Paris, Perez, according to the advice of the latter, addressed, on the 9th of August, a letter full of submission and entreaty to the Duke of Lerma: — "Most merciful Lord," said he, "I humbly beg your Excellency to take pity on me and mine. If I have sacrificed to idols, it was when I was constrained and urged on, as it were, by a king himself deceived as to my little worth, and by his great piety. I have well proved it by my obedience in abandoning every thing when I was ordered, exposing myself to a thousand dangers and chances, to a multitude of troubles, and to poverty, not with a view to any recompence that I might expect from

* Letter from Perez to the Constable, April 25. 1607, MSS. Béthune, vol. 9141. f. 11.

such a king, but for the satisfaction of having well performed my duty. I have applied to Don Pedro de Toledo, praying him to seek a speedy remedy that I may no longer live suspended in this state, too miserable and too dangerous, as he can vouch by the particulars which I have verbally communicated to him. But, my Lord, no misfortune being able to deprive me of the desire of dying the vassal of him whose vassal I am by birth, the king will, I hope, do me the favour to satisfy this desire, and your Excellency will resist those who would prevent this body, already mere clay, and, as if devoid of soul, from recovering its nature to end its days. Your Excellency has permitted my sons to come and see the miserable state in which I am; I entreat you, then, to permit their mother to close my eyes: they have wept so long, they well deserve it."*

This letter, which began and ended with far-fetched adulation, had no better result than his other proceedings. Perez inquired, three months after, of Don Pedro de Toledo whether he had not yet received any answer from the Duke of Lerma, or did not expect one soon: "For," said he, "I am in extreme want, having exhausted the assistance of all my friends, and no longer knowing where to find my daily bread."† A lamentable position for a man

* Letter from Perez to the Duke of Lerma, Aug. 9. 1608, in the work of M. Bermudez de Castro, p. 393.

† "Porque yo estoy en el extremo ultimo con aver ya agotado a mis amigos que me socorrian y con no saber donde hallar el pan de mañana." Ibid., p. 394.

who, after having been the favourite minister of the most powerful monarch in Europe, after having caused a whole country to rise in defence of his person and his cause, and after having taken a part in the confidence and in the affairs of the two most formidable enemies of his former master, had fallen into such destitution, and now saw his most humble prayers rejected with the most discouraging refusals. His distress was doubtless not unconnected with his frequent change of habitation: he had removed from Saint Lazare to the Rue du Temple, thence to the faubourg Saint Victor, and, in 1608, he went to lodge in the Rue de la Cerisaie*, near the arsenal, where his grief and infirmities increased his solitude.

Obliged to renounce all other pleasures, he sought amusement in the reminiscences of his youth and in intellectual occupations; he went frequently to church to ask that consolation of God which was denied by man; he wrote and prayed. It was during this unfortunate and leisure period of his life that he wrote much that has since been lost, and composed for the Duke of Lerma his book on the Science of Government, entitled, *The Pole Star of Princes, Viceroyes, Counsellors, and Governours: with Political Advice on the Public and Private Administration of a Monarchy.*† In this work we perceive

* Mercure François, 1611, t. ii. fol. 291.

† This work is extant in MS. in the *Bibliothèque Royale, fonds Saint-Germain*, No. 144. It is entitled, "*Norte de principes,*

the lively imagination of Antonio Perez, and the experience of a fallen minister, but it contains nothing very remarkable. The counsels given to a prime minister on the art of well choosing his creatures and well distributing his favours, the advantages of an affable behaviour, the care of granting audiences, the necessity of removing from the prince the nobles who might gradually ruin him, and not to put those whom he had offended in a position to revenge themselves, &c., were the hackneyed topics of a favourite's profession, which the Duke of Lerma had no need of learning, and which Perez had little merit in retracing. In this respect, the letters he wrote in his exile contain anecdotes more instructive, with reflections more ingenious and profound upon the government of Philip II., upon the rivalry of the Duke of Alva and Ruy Gomez de Silva, and upon the theories and practices of the latter, whom he considers as a great master in the science of courts, "where," says he, "are the shallows of

virreyes, presidentes, consejeros, gobernadores, y advertimientos políticos sobre lo publico y particular de una monarchia importantissima a los tales fundados en materia y razon de estado y gobierno: por Antonio Perez." M. Bermudez de Castro says, page 303., that this work was printed at Madrid towards the end of the last century. But, I have not been able to procure it. Don Valladore de Sotomayer, in book xxviii. of the *Semanario Erudito*, had given notice that he would publish the treaty of Perez, as well as the criminal process brought against him by Philip II. But I have not found, in the subsequent volumes of this interesting collection, either of these documents.

human baseness, in which it is necessary to be very prudent, and always to sail with a sounding-line in hand."*

But we must allow that, in what concerns the general conduct of government, his book contains useful, moral, and prudent views, some of which are even above the spirit of his time. Opposed, as minister of the ancient faction of the Prince of Eboli, to the war that had exhausted the Spanish monarchy, he declares in favour of peace, and even goes so far as to advise the acknowledgment of the independency of the United Provinces of Holland; a policy entirely realised under the administration of the Duke of Lerma. He engages them to improve the navy, declining since the unfortunate expedition in 1588, for the interest of Spain and her colonies, the discovery of which he does not fear to deplore.† Averse to the territorial possessions of the clergy and the insatiable ambition of the nobility, he is of opinion that one ought to govern for the people, who only ask for common right, a good administration and justice.

Moreover, it was the duty of Perez, for whom a whole people had compromised their independence, to become, in his turn, the defender of the interests of nations. Since his proscription, this liberal theory became and remained his own. A victim of absolute

* *Cartas de Antonio Perez a un gran privado*, p. 539.

† MSS. in the *Bibliothèque Royale*, French supplement, No. 2502. fol. 131, 132.

power, after having been its instrument, he combats the then irresistible tendency of monarchies towards that form of government, with a gloomy menacing energy: "Because I desire," says he, "the preservation of kingdoms, I desire the preservation of kings; and, because I wish for the preservation of kings, I wish that kings would keep within lawful limits. This is not my own opinion, though such honourable desires can never dishonour any body; but it is the opinion of a wise counsellor who said to King Don Philip II., seeing him, on many occasions, tending towards the licence of absolute power: 'Sire, be moderate, acknowledge God on earth, as in heaven, that he may not be weary of monarchies (a mild government, if mildly used,) and destroy them all, exasperated at the abuse of human power. For the God of heaven is a jealous God, who will suffer no rival in any thing.' That same counsellor said to me, in private: 'Señor Antonio, I very much fear, if men do not become more moderate, but continue to make themselves God on earth, lest God become tired of monarchies, and overthrow them, giving to the world another form of government.'"*

The last years of Perez, reckoning from 1608, were passed in want and solitude. The sufferings of old age, hastened by tribulations and dissipation,

* Cartas de Ant. Perez a un señor grande y consejero, pp. 545, 546.

had crowded upon him. The weakness of his legs no longer allowing him even to repair to the neighbouring church, he had obtained from the Pope, who had already absolved him from the censures incurred by his commerce with heretics, the permission to have an oratory in his own house, in the *Rue de la Cerisaie*.* When, after the death of Henry IV., in 1610, the Duke of Feria was sent as ambassador extraordinary to Paris, to negotiate the twofold marriage of Louis XIII. with an Infanta of Spain and of a French princess with the Prince of the Asturias, Perez, who had never lost the hope of returning to his own country, there to die, anxiously inquired whether he had not to announce to him the end of his exile. But the Duke of Feria had not received from his court any order concerning him.† Deeply cast down as he was, Perez nevertheless attempted, a few months after, by the advice of his friend, Sosa, bishop of the Canaries‡, general of the Franciscan friars, and a member of the Inquisition, to move the tribunal of the Holy Office, to whom he attributed the duration of his banishment. He demanded of the supreme council of the Inquisition a safe-conduct to enable him to go and justify himself before them§, but this step was not more successful

* Llorente's *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 360.

† *Mercure Français*, year 1611. *Ibid.*

‡ *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 358.

§ *Ibid.*

than the others. A few months after, he fell mortally ill. The Aragonese Manuel Don Lope and the other Spanish refugees then in Paris, assisted him with an affectionate solicitude, and Andrés Garin, a Dominican friar, who never quitted his side, administered to him religious consolation.* On the 3rd of November, feeling his end approaching, Perez dictated to his friend, Gil de Mesa, the following declaration, which he was unable to write with his own hand:—

“In my present situation, and on the point of rendering to God an account of my life, I declare and swear that I have always lived, and that I die, a Christian and faithful Catholic, which I call upon God to witness. I protest to my king and natural lord, as also to all the crowns and kingdoms he possesses, that I have never ceased to be his faithful servant and subject.” † After having invoked, in support of his orthodoxy and fidelity, the testimony of the constable of Castile and his nephew Don Balthazar de Zuñiga, as well as having enumerated all the steps he had taken, and, lastly, the request he had addressed to the supreme council of the Inquisition, he added: “If I die in this kingdom, it is because I could not do otherwise, and on account of

* Llorente, *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 360.

† See this declaration of Ant. Perez, made on the 3d of November, 1611, in M. Bermudez de Castro's *Work*, pp. 284—286.

the state of suffering to which my troubles have reduced me: protesting, that I do not lie, and entreating my king and natural lord to deign to remember, in his great clemency and royal bounty, the services that my father rendered to him and his grandfather, in order that my wife and fatherless and destitute children may obtain some relief for their sufferings, and that those sad and unfortunate children, whom I recommend to live and die as faithful and loyal subjects, may not lose the favour and grace which they deserve as such, because their father is about to die in a foreign land."* He signed this declaration with a dying hand †, and a few hours afterwards expired in the seventy-second year of his age.

He was buried at the Célestins, where, till the end of the last century, might be read an epitaph recounting the principal vicissitudes of his life. ‡ Dona

* M. Bermudez de Castro's Work, p. 284—286.

† Ibid.

‡ The epitaph was as follows:—

HIC JACET
 ILLUSTRISSIMUS D. ANTONIUS PEREZ,
 OLIM PHILIPPO II. HISPANIARUM REGI
 A SECRETIORIBUS CONSILIIS,
 CUJUS ODIUM MALE AUSPICATUM EFFUGIENS,
 AD HENRICUM IV. GALLIARUM REGEM
 INVICTISSIMUM SE CONTULIT,
 EJUSQUE BENEFICIENTIAM EXPERTUS EST.
 DEMUM PARISIIS DIEM CLAUSIT EXTREMUM
 ANNO SALUTIS MDCXI.

Piganiol de la Force. *Description de Paris*, in 8vo., Paris, 1742, t. iv. p. 121.

Juana Coëllo, who survived him, and his children, the eldest of whom, Dona Gregoria, had died a few years before, not having succeeded in getting him restored to his native country, had, at least, the consolation of having the sentence revoked that condemned him as a heretic. But it was not without trouble* : it required four years of persevering conduct on their part, the support of the most powerful personages of the Church and State, and the express desire of Philip III., for the inexorable tribunal of the Inquisition to consent to revise the process of Perez and his memory.† This act of reparation was not definitive till the 6th of June, 1615.‡ Then, and not till then, were the unfortunate children of Perez, who had passed their youth in prison, and been legally attainted with their father's degradation, without having participated in his offences, restored to their rank and rights as Spanish nobles. §

Antonio Perez, without being one of the great ministers of Philip II., such as the imperious Cardinal Spinosa, the clever Ruy Gomez, the haughty Duke of Alba, and the discreet Granvelle, possessed, at one moment, all the favour of that prince, and was the most powerful personage in the Spanish monarchy. Having arrived at power too easily, he knew

* Llorento, *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition*, t. iii. p. 357—359.

† *Ibid.*, p. 373.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 358—373.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

not how to maintain his position ; and, having become, so to speak, a minister by hereditary right, he behaved like a real adventurer. Impassioned, rapacious, prodigal, violent, artful, indiscreet, and corrupt, he introduced his irregularities into a court of strict outward decorum ; annoyed by his restlessness a prince accustomed to a peaceful dignity ; and offended, by the rivalry of his amours and the audacity of his actions, a hypocritical, vindictive, and absolute master. Although he knew thoroughly the prince he served — although he possessed the secret of his concealed attachment, his formidable dissimulation, and that jealousy of his power which rendered his confidence always precarious — although he knew that Philip II. had killed Cardinal Spinosa with one word ; had employed the Duke of Alba for his abilities, and dismissed him for his haughtiness, and had kept Ruy Gomez to the last only on account of his dexterity and suppleness, he yet ventured to deceive him, and ruined himself. In the desperate strife into which he was hurled by his excesses and misdeeds he displayed such various intellectual resources, showed such an energy of character, was so oppressed, so eloquent, and so pathetic, that he became the object of the most generous devotion, and obtained universal sympathy. Unfortunately, the same defects which had ruined him in Spain lost him his credit in England and in France, where, ever the same, he com-

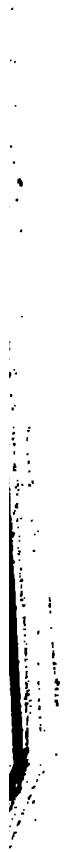
promised even his disgrace, and died in poverty and neglect.

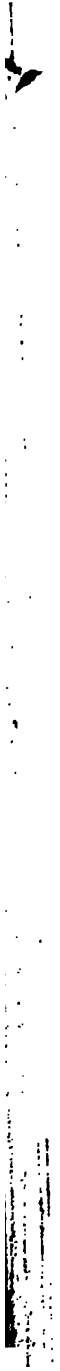
I have related, I believe, fully, the life of this personage, disorderly yet engaging, clever yet inconsiderate, of an amiable mind, but of an inconstant character; full of activity, imagination, vanity, passion, and intrigue; whom we condemn, but who affects us by some of his sentiments and by his misfortunes. In tracing this stormy and instructive life, I have ventured further than I had at first intended. But if, by the development I have given it, it has acquired all its accuracy, without losing any of its interest, I hope I shall receive pardon for its prolixity.

THE END.

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February, 1846.

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